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ABSTRACT

The coercive environment of prison makes it an especially difficult setting for educational services that aim to enable people to make decisions and have some control over their lives. Concern has grown at the international, national, and local levels to ensure that education of high quality and an appropriately broad range is recognized as an obligatory and integral part of prison activities. Incarcerated prisoners show common characteristics across countries and regions. These are closely interrelated with previous educational experience and present needs. Motivation is crucial to active educational participation and progress. Strategies for obtaining educational objectives in prisons include providing a positive experience, involving the student, using an individualized approach, involving students in needs assessment, and giving formal recognition to progress. The curricula of basic education in prisons include literacy, literacy extension, and social skills. Providers of prison education range from statewide authorities to voluntary agencies. Some countries provide no prison service funding for education. Evidence of the effectiveness of prison education is generally not kept. Effects of education are distorted by other elements of the prison system. (Appendixes include 162 references and a United Nations resolution and Council of Europe recommendation on prison education. (YLB)

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Basic Education in Prisons:

Interim Report

Peter Sutton

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1. THE UIE PROJECT ON BASIC EDUCATION IN PRISONS

In 1991 the Unesco Institute for Education (UIE) launched a project to investigate and promote basic education in prisons. It is a response to growing international concern over the functioning of penal and correctional systems, and takes place against a background of international recognition of the universal right of access to basic education, and of action to bring this about. The project is limited to custodial sentences, and concentrates on adults rather than juvenile offenders.

Through the project's emphasis on basic education, UIE aims to contribute to the development of the potential of persons suffering disproportionate educational disadvantage. The specific intentions are therefore to identify strategies of basic education in prison contexts which have been judged effective by practitioners and learners, and to disseminate information as widely as possible on these. To do so, it is necessary to understand the particular context of education for offenders.

We bear constantly in mind the various statements of intent recently made by the United Nations and other international organisations with regard to prison education. At the same time, we recognise that investment in prison education will only be made by governments on the basis of evidence of effectiveness and practicability. Indications of effectiveness already exist, and some of these are presented in this Interim Report.

1.1. Scope of this report

From the outset, UIE proposed to collaborate with as many agencies as possible involved in the field of prison education. This report is the first result of that cooperation, but we are conscious that there remain many gaps and inadequacies in the coverage of the issue which has been achieved so far.

As in much other international discussion of educational matters, there is a preponderance of West European, North American and, in this case, Australian sources. We have so far relied particularly heavily on information from English-speaking countries. This is a result of the pattern of attendance at recent international conferences on prison education, and is in all probability a reflection of the real state of research throughout the world into basic education in prisons. This topic is not regarded as a high priority by hard-pressed governments and research agencies.

But even if we were able to receive and analyse a much larger number of reports from a wider range of countries, we should be unwilling and unable to prescribe how basic education should be provided. What we intend is a situation analysis which provides evidence of the effectiveness of education in prisons, and in particular of basic education, briefly presents elements of sample curricula, summarises some possible structures, and assesses progress throughout the world

towards meeting the goals laid down in United Nations resolutions and similar statements on prison education. We aim thereby to make a practical contribution to the provision of education for all, in the specific context of prisons. In this we are informed by our other research activities in basic education, literacy and post-literacy, non-formal and adult education.

In this Interim Report, we are able to go a little way towards our aim, thanks to the information supplied by numerous sources. We refer in this report to the international statements of intent, and to the various potential purposes of imprisonment. We consider the profile of prisoners--the target group of learners--laying stress on the specific problems of alienation in a prison setting, and we indicate some of the ways of approaching the provision of basic education. Finally, we discuss some of the available evidence of effectiveness, and the difficulties of its assessment.

1.2. Open questions

UIE unequivocally takes the view that appropriate education should be available to all adults and juveniles in prison. We call attention especially to that weakest group whose previous experience of education has been unsatisfactory. But we are also aware that education by itself cannot achieve successful resocialisation and rehabilitation of offenders, even for those who are amenable. A prisoner's problems are greater than any solution that education alone can offer, but without education the problems are unlikely to be dissipated by a prison regime.

Many questions which affect the purposes and effects of prison education will remain when UIE's present project is concluded. These will concern:

- sentencing policy
- alternatives to custodial sentences
- through-care before and after release
- care for the victims of crime
- preventive education in schools
- the reduction of drop-out in schools
- economic influences on criminality
- distinctions between crimes, misdemeanours and immorality
- housing policy
- policing policy
- family structures and laws
- the influence of the media
- health education
- etc.

Questions related to the social and economic environment will be considered in our project where they are intrinsic to the specificities of basic education in prisons, but other educational actions, and wider juridical policies will not be addressed. Nonetheless, it is clear that, as in education outside prisons, educators cannot be expected to reform society single-handed and are bound by conditions over which they have no control. They, like offenders and victims of crime, also are part of society.

1.3. The future development of the UIE project

UIE intends over the next 18 months to supplement this Interim Report with studies conducted by specialists in the field. Further information is needed on:

- the short-term and long-term effects of education at various levels
- the practicability of providing prison education within limited means
- offenders with particular learning difficulties
- the possibilities of integrating basic with vocational and other forms of education
- the situation in the various regions of the world

Invitations to contribute new material to the project have been issued at conferences and through intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations. Researchers in Africa, North America and Europe have already responded, and contacts have been made with specialists in Asia and the Pacific, Latin America and the Arab States.

So far, we have relied heavily on the ability of respondents to contribute at their own expense, and the eventual nature of the Final Report will therefore to a degree be dependent on funds available for research projects in prisons.

This Interim Report will also be constantly updated by the addition of incoming information in the form of published and unpublished reports and, again subject to funding, by the holding of round tables at relevant conferences.

From case studies, profiles of sample groups of offenders and ex-offenders, and other evidence, it should then be possible to present a fuller picture by 1993 of the justification and need for basic education in prisons, possible methods of ensuring its availability and effectiveness, and the progress made so far towards meeting the goals of relevant UN resolutions.

The intention is to hold a seminar in 1993 in order to submit a Final Report to expert comment before publication and dissemination. We are pursuing possibilities for joint publication in at least three languages. Throughout this period we shall remain in close contact with the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch of the United Nations, and the International Council for Adult Education, our initial partners in the project, as well as the Correctional Education Association, the

International Forum for the Study of Education in Penal Systems, and other new partners.

1.4. Invitation to participate

We therefore invite practitioners, researchers, administrators and other interested parties to contribute to our research during 1992 and 1993 in one of the following ways:

- send comments on this Interim Report
- send names of additional contacts, and suggest recipients of this report and the Final Report
- send reports on basic education curricula and methodology in prisons
- send reports on literacy rates among offenders
- share with us results of existing evaluations of basic education in prisons
- undertake new case studies and evaluation studies on basic education in prisons and its effects

All communications will be acknowledged, and material sent will be placed in the Documentation Centre of UIE.

We should also be grateful to hear of potential sponsors of the project, in order to support research where local resources cannot be secured, and to enable analysis and dissemination of findings.

1.5. Acknowledgements

In the preparation of this Interim Report UIE has been greatly assisted by those individuals and institutions that have provided written materials, many of whom are listed in the Bibliography. Practitioners from numerous countries have also given many stimulating ideas through informal discussion. To all of these we express our thanks.

Certain agencies have already identified themselves as partners, and these are named above. Others cannot yet be named because negotiations are incomplete. UIE is indebted to them for their enthusiasm and looks forward to presenting their conclusions.

Within UIE, a major part was played in the preparation of this report by Christa Hategan, who analysed many of the written reports received.

2. THE CONTEXT OF PRISON EDUCATION

In all societies there are and always have been groups of people who do not benefit from the social, cultural and economic opportunities which others enjoy. Their exclusion may be unconscious or semi-conscious, as well as an act of deliberate policy. Ethnic minorities, indigenous peoples, women and girls, landless labourers, and the handicapped, are some of the obvious groups which can suffer from discrimination as a result of cultural factors, and in many cases they exist in conditions of poverty and physical need.

Prisoners are one of the marginalised groups in society, but in their case they have consciously and intentionally been deprived and placed on the fringe of society because they have committed crimes against persons, property, accepted social values or the dictates of a political regime. However, this does not mean that their temporary incarceration is a sufficient response to the phenomenon of criminality. Eventually nearly all prisoners become ex-offenders and are released into the society in which they offended. There is therefore a recognised case for seeking to protect society against further offences, by improving the chances of successful reinsertion into society. The frequency of recidivism suggests that more might be done, even though evidence for the direct effects of educational programmes may as yet be imprecise.

At a different level, education is now recognised as a basic human need, and as a human right. It can therefore be argued that imprisonment, even if it is viewed as justified punishment, should not bring with it additional deprivation of civil rights, which include education.

In the context of human rights, efforts are being made on a global scale to reach disadvantaged minorities by modifying and expanding the formal educational system, and by strengthening non-formal alternatives for particular groups. Those who suffer the greatest disadvantage are those with literacy and numeracy problems: in a world dominated by recorded messages, literacy is regarded, rightly or wrongly, as the most basic skill of all, and fundamental to educational progress. It is thus one of the means of combating exclusion from societal participation, a concept discussed in a report of the working of Canadian projects at Frontier College for those missed out by traditional educational provision (Pearpoint 1989).

The concept of lifelong education is also relevant to that of human rights. Ever since the early 1970s, international educational organisations and many educationists have taken a holistic view of education, seeing each educational activity as part of a lifelong process. From this point of view, there is no reason why the process should be interrupted by imprisonment.

Education is a tool considered essential to personal development and participation in society: not the rote learning of a distillation of received facts, but an education which equips graduates to go beyond exemplary data to make discoveries for themselves, and to apply basic skills.

It is impossible to separate the educational process from the context in which it occurs. The coercive environment of prison makes it an especially difficult setting for educational services that aim to enable people to take decisions and hence to have some control over their own lives. However, if resocialisation is to be achieved by affective change, the self-reliance and self-esteem of prisoners have to be raised. In order to reconcile these functions of imprisonment, modifications in prison policy have been widely advocated.

2.1. The international context

Over recent years concern has grown both at the national and local level, among practitioners and researchers, and at the international level within the Council of Europe, the United Nations and non-governmental organisations, to ensure that education of high quality and an appropriately broad range is recognised as an obligatory and integral part of prison activities. National prison administrations have taken significant steps to assess the effectiveness of their provision, and a number of innovations have been made in curriculum content and modes of delivery.

A growing number of international conferences has been addressing the theme of prison education: Oxford (1989), Bergen aan Zee (1991), Dublin (1991), and Brisbane (1992). Conferences of the Correctional Education Association (CEA) in North America have also attracted international participation. An extensive and very rich literature of case studies, national curriculum guidelines and exhortatory articles has been built up (see Bibliography), but no cross-national overview of the scope proposed by UIE has been produced.

During 1991 the European Prison Education Association (EPEA) has been established, as a counterpart to the CEA based in North America, and the International Forum for the Study of Education in Penal Systems (IFEPS) has been launched, with centres initially in Australia, Canada, Spain, the UK and the USA.

The International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) had already established a Criminal Justice Programme in 1985, and a member of the Executive Committee of ICAE had served as educational counsellor to the UN Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch, Vienna, in 1989-1990. This Programme of ICAE continues, and in making the study presented in this Interim Report and the intended subsequent Final Report, UIE is receiving valuable information and support from many national and international agencies, including ICAE and all those mentioned above. The International Council on Social Welfare (ICSW) had included a seminar on prison education during the literacy section of its 25th International Conference in 1990.

2.1.1. *Recent United Nations and Council of Europe statements on prison education*

On 24 May 1990 the Economic and Social Council of the UN adopted Resolutions on Prison Education (Resolution 1990/20) and on Education, Training and Public Awareness in the Field of Crime Prevention (1990/24). Some of the key recommendations of these Resolutions are, in summary form, that Member States should:

- provide education contributing to crime prevention, and consider alternatives to imprisonment
- develop education for the whole person, taking the prisoner's cultural context into account
- ensure that education is an integral part of the prison regime, supported by the entire administration
- allow prisoners to take part in education outside prisons, and involve the community in education within prisons
- promote international cooperation on criminal justice

The full resolution 1990/20 is reproduced in Appendix 1. This meeting was followed, in August-September 1990, by the Eighth UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. The Congress confirmed the recommendations of the Economic and Social Council.

At a following session of the General Assembly of the UN, Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners were adopted on 14 December 1990 (Resolution 45/111). One of these Principles is that "All prisoners should have the right to take part in cultural activities and education aimed at the full development of the human personality" (No. 6). These Principles update the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, which were adopted by the UN in 1955 following the first Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders held in 1955, and which were last amended in 1977.

On the same date a further Resolution (45/122) was adopted, requesting the Secretary-General, among other things, "to explore the possibility of increased use of education in crime prevention and criminal justice with a view to preparing a study on the relationship between crime, education and development..."

In the emphasis placed on the full development of the human personality, and in the detail of the full recommendations of the Economic and Social Council there is a clear similarity with the 17 points of the Recommendation No. R (89) 12 adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 13 October 1989. These reiterate the humanistic principles outlined above, and propose additionally that:

- ...education...is envisaged as consisting of classroom subjects, vocational education, creative and cultural activities, physical education and sports, social education and library facilities (Point 1)
- Education for prisoners should be like the education provided for similar age-groups in the outside world... (Point 2)
- Education should have no less a status than work within the prison regime and prisoners should not lose out financially or otherwise by taking part in education (Point 5)
- Development programmes should be provided to ensure that prison educators adopt appropriate adult education methods (Point 7)
- Special attention should be given to those prisoners with particular difficulties and especially those with reading and writing problems (Point 8)

This Council of Europe Recommendation, given in full in Appendix 2, represents the conclusions of a committee of experts, whose mandate did not extend beyond the final report. It is Points 7 and 8 which are of particular concern in this report, but their implementation is contingent on many of the policies implicit in other points.

2.2. The role of education in prisons

The literature on education in prisons shows great concern with theoretical issues, particularly those related to the purpose of education in correctional institutions, the dehumanising setting, and the need for an emancipatory approach (e.g., Collins 1988; Goldin and Thomas 1984; Isabelle 1989; Knights 1989).

This is not to say that education is seen by all prison authorities as the most significant activity for which they are responsible, or as serving everywhere the same ends. There is a contradiction between the constraints of prison life--imposed by the needs for security, supervision and manageability and, where this obtains, by the element of retributive deprivation--and the intentions of liberating and development-oriented education (Neale 1989). Educators, prison authorities and other staff do not always agree on the purpose of education in prisons. While prison authorities and security officers tend to see the educational programme as a peripheral activity, but one which contributes to the "good order" of the institution since it helps to keep the inmates "meaningfully busy" (Collins 1988), educators and other "civilian" members of staff (social workers, psychologists, etc.) tend to emphasise the ethical dimension of education as part of the rehabilitative purpose of imprisonment. Education is seen as one of the means of enabling resocialisation and the acquisition of the skills that may help inmates to build a better future for themselves after release. This view may be shared by those prisoners who accept that incarceration has purposes beyond punishment, isolation

and deterrence and who therefore willingly accept and use the reformation element of imprisonment, notably the vocational education services and advice on employment opportunities.

2.2.1. *Perceptions of imprisonment*

How offenders are treated in prison depends on the prevailing penological philosophy. Forster (1989) presents a simple overview of approaches adapted from Radzinowicz and King (1977):

- the classical school, in which justice means appropriate punishment of crimes already committed, without regard to the individual situation of the criminal
- the positivist school, which places emphasis on the personality of the criminal and the correction of his future behaviour
- the sociological school, which considers above all the social factors which cause crime rather than the causes of individual deviance
- the socialist school, which suggests that the laws which are contravened by prisoners are not based on a consensus but on the interests of a minority class

There is in practice a consensus that society has to protect its members against criminal acts, but the functions of prisons and other detention centres are not limited to retribution and deterrence. While commentators and researchers may proceed from any of these approaches, most countries have based their criminal justice systems on the notion of rehabilitation and reintegration into society, however imperfect that society may be. Education forms part of the correctional treatment considered necessary to this end.

The reform model has come to be generally accepted for the reason that: "Unless we intend to keep the inmates in jail for ever...they will always continue to be part of the community in which the opponents also live" (Frimpong 1982: 102).

The widely quoted Mission Statement for prisons in England and Wales drawn up by the Prisons Board in 1988 is: "Her Majesty's Prison Service serves the public by keeping in custody those committed by the Courts. Our duty is to look after them with humanity and to help them lead law-abiding and useful lives in custody and after release." This is open to wide interpretation, but two things stand out: the humanity of treatment, and the desired usefulness of the time spent in prison. There is little argument over the contribution of educational and cultural activities to that intention. Much greater detail of relevance to education is given in the recommendations of the United Nations and the Council of Europe cited in Appendices 1 and 2.

2.2.2. *Basic education*

Literacy tuition is not needed by all prisoners, nor is it adequate without the development of social skills, affective learning of responsible behaviours, and acquisition or enhancement of employable skills. Where an extensive prison education service exists, public examinations which inmates have failed to take or to pass are offered, to give a chance of equality of formal qualification with those outside who have already obtained these credentials. In some countries, with the international recognition of the need for literacy and basic education, the range of education offered has broadened, but a considerable part of prison education remains linked to the acquisition of formal qualifications. In the UK, for example, "increasing numbers of students are using their time to study for examinations. These range from basic...tests in numeracy, literacy and communications skills--through GCSE and 'A' levels and beyond....An increasing number of inmates are taking business management courses" (H.M. Prison Service 1989: 23). In Japan, those who have poor educational performance and/or dropped out of school before completing nine-year compulsory school education, may have the chance to take an examination equivalent to termination of junior high-school, besides receiving social education, vocational training and opportunities of distance education in academic subjects (Japan Ministry of Justice 1990).

Vocational education is widely seen as a priority. Practitioners sometimes express concern that educational provision which is restricted to basic education plus vocational training is too instrumental and misses the chance of the development of cultural and judgmental values. The summary of provision in Asian and Pacific countries shown in Table 1 demonstrates an emphasis on vocational education, but also shows the other major areas of educational and cultural activities which can be offered: sports, moral and religious education, and counselling. To these might be added arts and crafts and aesthetic education, where facilities and expertise are available and funded.

It is noticeable from the international summary of the provision of prison education in selected countries around the Pacific shown in Table 1, that literacy is lacking from most countries' stated provision. However, particularly where primary education is compulsory for young offenders, it is to be assumed that literacy is subsumed in this level of formal tuition. In Tanzania, education provided to adults in prisons is intended to be similar to the vocational, income-generating education offered in training schools, folk development colleges and other trade schools outside (Mangara 1989: 6). A significant element of the Tanzanian Education for Self-Reliance programme, which has embraced these institutions for twenty years, is itself literacy. The identification of literacy as a separate category in other countries indicates an awareness of juvenile and adult illiteracy as social phenomena, and the existence of a national literacy programme, rather than a total absence of remedial literacy education. It is therefore a matter of perception and emphasis.

Table 1.

CROSS CULTURAL PROGRAMMES IN ASIA AND PACIFIC REGIONS*

Correctional Programmes	Bangladesh	Chile	Hongkong	India	Republic of Korea	Malaysia	Pakistan	Philippines	Singapore	Thailand	Japan
A. Juveniles											
1. Educational											
a) literacy		✓									
b) literacy (compulsory)	✓	✓					✓				
c) formal											
i) primary			✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
ii) secondary					✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
d) correspondence											✓
2. Vocational	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3. Physical, sports etc.	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓	✓	✓
4. Moral and religious	✓	✓								✓	✓
5. Social casework counselling and psychotherapy	✓				✓			✓			✓
6. Extramural											✓
7. Parole and Aftercare	✓							✓	✓		✓
B. Convicts											
1. Educational											
a) literacy	✓	✓									
b) literacy (compulsory)				✓			✓				
c) formal											
i) primary	✓								✓	✓	✓
ii) secondary									✓	✓	✓
d) correspondence						✓					✓
2. Vocational	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3. Physical, sports etc.	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4. Moral and religious	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
5. Social casework counselling and psychotherapy	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
6. Extramural	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓	✓	✓
7. Parole		✓		✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓
8. Aftercare			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Source: Sri Lanka, Ministry of Education. 1988. Educational Needs of Women Prisoners and Those in Homes of Detention for Females and Youthful Offenders. Battaramulla: Non-Formal Education Section, Ministry of Education.

There are cases, however, where organised literacy tuition is reported as lacking:

In Nigeria, data available indicate that there is no known official policy in the area of organised prison education. What exists is an informal apprenticeship system through which inmates acquire skills, and forms part of the daily routine of maintaining the prisons. In some prisons, attempts are being made by prisoners to organise basic and general education for other inmates. (Enuku 1990: 7)

2.3. The effects of prison education

It is difficult and of questionable moral propriety to follow up all ex-offenders after their release from custody in order to assess the long-term relationship between any prison education in which they participated and their subsequent occupational and social circumstances. Not only may it be considered improper to continue to keep records on those who have completed their sentence, but any meaningful recording of data would also require the cooperation of a variety of agencies, and preferably of the subjects themselves. In some systems, links between prisons and parole or probation services are at best tenuous, and in many after-care is totally lacking. If penal systems see education to be of low priority in comparison to security and prison work, they will be unlikely to invest in the longitudinal studies involving other actors which might evaluate the results of educational measures.

Little research appears to have been conducted on even the immediate effects of individual programmes or on the precise needs of prisoners and methods of assessing and meeting these, although increasing awareness of the desirability of internal efficiency evaluation is widespread.

Nonetheless, such research evidence as there is, and wide anecdotal evidence from practitioners and ex-offenders, support the statement often quoted in British reports that:

Education has been seen to aid the process of resettlement; it can help the offenders to take a non-offending path. It can do this by providing the basic education and skills which make law-abiding survival more possible; qualifications, both general and vocational, which make the attainment and holding of worthwhile jobs more possible; stability and structure to an individual's life, especially in the crucial first few months after release; a mind-broadening and maturing experience; and perhaps for the first time, prestige, success and self-esteem in the non-criminal world. (NACRO 1981)

3. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRISON POPULATION

Offenders imprisoned for other than political crimes show common characteristics across countries and regions. These are closely interrelated with previous educational experience and present needs, and have implications for prison administration and education programmes.

A concise characterisation of the prison population in the USA is given by Bellorado (1986), subsequently confirmed by a survey of a large cross-section of the prison population of the State of Ohio, in which 1,722 inmates (1,556 males and 166 females) were profiled (Littlefield 1989). From these reports it is seen that the majority of prisoners are male, and are disproportionately young, black and unmarried. They have a history of failure in schools and other institutions, and a low level of self-esteem. Some 60% are high school drop-outs, and 6% have had no schooling beyond, at most, kindergarten. (The percentages given in this and the next two paragraphs are taken from Bellorado.) This small minority has a likelihood of imprisonment more than three times as high as that of the later drop-outs. All display apathy or hostility towards education.

American prisoners lack social skills, may be dependent on drugs, and may suffer emotional disturbance. Frequently they come from an unstable home background. Violent offenders are likely to have symptoms of paranoia, to display severe verbal deficiencies, and regularly to have exhibited interpersonal difficulties and behavioural problems in school and employment. Despite these typical characteristics, they show great diversity in learning ability, social maturity and levels of functional competence.

Offenders are likely to be poor. Prior to imprisonment 40% of them have been unemployed, and those in employment have typically earned a wage below the recognised poverty level; 12% of the employed worked only part-time.

Female prisoners are typically single mothers under 30 years of age, troubled by physical and/or mental ill health, dependent on drugs and/or alcohol, and convicted of offences for which the motive was acquisition of money.

This summary is largely typical of other industrialised regions, and is confirmed by sample reports from elsewhere.

3.1. Age, sex and race

Prisoners are indeed generally young. Of the 44,000 prisoners in France, 70% are under 30 years old (ADEP 1990: 1). Among year groups, those aged 18, 19 and 20 are the most numerous (idem: 7). Only 17.6% are over 40 years old (Barre 1990). In the French community of Belgium, 61% are under 30, half of these being under 25 years old (ADEPPI 1991: 2).

They are also generally male. In Australia, for example, the proportion of female prisoners varies from 1.7% in the Northern Territory to 7% in Western Australia, for instance (Semmens 1990: 8).

As regards race, local conditions will determine the proportions. In the USA, attention is regularly called to the relatively high number of black prisoners: "Over 41.2% of the offender population is black versus 9.7% of the overall Ohio population" (Littlefield 1989: 13). In Europe, non-Europeans are over-represented in the prison population. In Luxembourg, 40% are "foreigners" (Theis 1991: 3), but their residency status varies greatly. Proximity to an international airport increases the number of aliens in a given prison, particularly if frequent convictions are made for drug trafficking offences. Elsewhere, there may be demographic particularities, such as the relationship between aborigines/native peoples and whites in parts of Australia, Latin America, North America and elsewhere, and, we may surmise, Russia.

3.2. Occupational status, poverty and social inadequacy

Attention is commonly called to low vocational status and histories of irregular employment. The majority of releasees and probationers lack a marketable vocation (Wimer 1990: 6) or even entry-level job skills (Coleman and Evans 1991). Barre (1990: 60) reports that 37% of inmates in France are unskilled labourers, and that 39% were unemployed or of no fixed occupation. This is confirmed by ADEP (1990: 7): less than a quarter of all participants in the education programmes surveyed had a job at the time of their arrest, a great number had worked very little or not at all, and 41,5 % had never been employed.

This situation is interlinked with social and economic background. It is generally accepted that prisoners are from an underprivileged social and cultural background (e.g., ADEPPI 1991).

Obvious learning disability and inability to make normal social contacts are not infrequently observed. Eggleston (1989: 3) suggests from a study conducted in 1984 that between 35% and 42% of the prison population in the USA, juvenile and adult, could be considered educationally handicapped, that is, they display serious emotional problems, disordered speech or other problems which inhibit learning. She compares this figure with an estimate that 28% of the general juvenile population suffered similar disability. Other estimates suggest that around 15% of inmates of US correctional institutions are at least mildly mentally handicapped, and therefore have specific learning disabilities (Mathews and Winters 1991).

A study conducted in the UK (McDougall 1989) examined offenders identified as "angry" by prison staff, and found them to be exceptionally aggressive and impulsive in terms of the Special Hospitals Assessment of Personality and Socialisation measures, and the Emotional Control Questionnaire.

A study of long-term prisoners in France (Canino 1990) considers, on the other hand, that their loneliness is often a result of the shock of incarceration more than a consequence of some permanent psychological inadequacy. It is a form of self-defence to cut oneself off from previous friends and close family, and the resultant loneliness cannot necessarily be equated with the situation before conviction.

The causes of emotional disturbance, social withdrawal and loss of motivation may therefore not be easily defined, but it remains clear that when compounded with lack of vocational, social and basic educational skills, and a history of irregular employment, they present a major challenge to the prison service. If prison is to be more than retribution which breeds resentment, it needs to incorporate appropriate social and educational policies.

3.3. Educational level of offenders

There is much evidence which indicates that prisoners have low levels of educational attainment, and it is therefore generally deduced that compensatory basic education, including literacy, should be provided.

3.3.1. *Industrialised countries*

Estimates indicate that in the industrialised countries of North America and Europe, and in Australia, some 25-40% of prison inmates are functionally illiterate (Bellorado 1986; Black 1984; Duguid 1989; O'Flaherty 1984; Weiss 1981). Of these, some 5% are thought to be totally illiterate.

To look at some figures in more detail, ADEPPI (1991: 3), for example, states from its survey of illiteracy among inmates of prisons in the French community of Belgium that:

- prisoners are on a very low educational level
- 29% have no certificate whatever
- 32% have obtained the primary school certificate
- amongst those with a primary school certificate, there are still 20.2% of illiterates
- only 12% have completed vocational training
- of these, a third are also functionally illiterate
- 12 % of the prisoners tested are totally or partially illiterate
- 15 % of prisoners are only able to write in a "survival" manner

In sum, 27 % of the population in prisons in the French community of Belgium is totally or functionally illiterate, and it is suggested that this may be a conservative figure on account of sampling techniques. (One third of the populations of six prisons were tested.)

In France, a superficially worse picture emerges. According to the survey of education in 34 prisons for young offenders conducted by ADEP (1990),

- 85% have no more than primary schooling
- 59% of the participants have not completed primary schooling
- 59% have calculating problems
- 55% have reading problems (pp. 7, 22, 23)

Illiteracy appears appreciably higher than in Belgium, but the definitions of illiteracy used are not identical, and there is a gradation from total illiteracy, through functional illiteracy to difficulties with reading/writing/calculation. It should also be remarked that the French survey concerned exclusively young offenders.

At a detention centre for young people serving long sentences in Germany, 30% of inmates are considered functionally illiterate, and 50% have no primary school certificate (Budweg and Schins 1991).

In Ireland, "perhaps a quarter or more ... have serious problems with reading and writing" (Ripley 1991: 11), while in Portugal illiteracy, defined as "without any certificate or diploma at an elementary school level, or basic literacy" (Leite 1991: 1), has been assessed (pp. 2-3) as follows:

	1988	1989	1990
Prison population	7,760	8,359	9,375
Participants	955	1,391	1,425
Illiteracy	20.2%	18.4%	14.9%

3.3.2. *Developing countries*

Fewer figures on educational levels and illiteracy rates in prisons are available from developing countries. However, it may be assumed that not less than half of the prison population in many countries is illiterate or has serious literacy deficiencies. Information received from Nigeria¹ suggests that half of the 1248 inmates of Kaduna prison have not completed primary education, while others dropped out later. A similar figure is given for Sri Lanka by Dharmadasa (1989):

Total prison population	59,452		
Illiterates	30,998	=	52.14%
Literate	28,454	=	47.86%
(8th grade or higher)			

A prison education project proposal from Colombia states that 63% of prisoners had dropped out from school before reaching the fourth grade, or had never attended school (Velasquez and Rojas 1989).

3.3.3. *Comparison of illiteracy rates among general and prison populations*

These figures need to be compared with illiteracy and functional illiteracy rates among the population at large. Estimates in industrialised countries indicate a rate of total illiteracy of between one and ten per cent, but functional illiteracy is frequently put at least as high as 20% (UIE project figures). The UNESCO estimate for illiteracy in Nigeria in 1990 was 49.3% among the general population, but only 37.7% among men over 15 years of age (UNESCO 1990). In Colombia, the illiteracy rate among the population aged 10 years and over is put at 12.2% (Hoyos Rodriguez et al. 1989: 5), while Dharmadasa (1989) provides a comparable figure of 12.8%.

Illiteracy and semi-literacy levels among inmates in countries of all types are usually considered higher than among the adult population in general, and possibly up to twice as high. But a recent Australian report (Black, Rouse and Wickert 1991) dissents from this view, concluding from research which tested everyday literacy tasks that prisoners have literacy levels not significantly different from those of the general public. Even so:

There can be little comfort, for example, in the finding that only half of the prisoner samples could keep a running total in a bank account book and very few prisoners (7% and 13% overall of the Silverwater and Mulawa samples) could cope with more advanced prose passages. (Black, Rouse and Wickert 1991: 12)

3.3.4. *Definitions of illiteracy*

One must be cautious in relation to statistical data, both within countries, and in making comparisons between countries. In the first case, prison populations are subject to far closer examination than members of the general population, among whom functional literacy may be underestimated, and who have the chance to devise strategies to circumvent or disguise their limitations. Estimates of prisoners' literacy levels may therefore be more accurate, at least in terms of standardised tests of reading age such as those regularly used in North America. Informal estimates by various categories of penal and judicial staff can be influenced by the difficult and specialised nature of the tasks offenders are called upon to fulfil, such as completing forms and reading formalised statements before signing them.

The Australian national literacy survey *No Single Measure* (Wickert 1989), which drew on the evaluation designs developed in the USA by Kirsch and Jungeblut (1986), used multiple tests to assess performance in a range of different literacy tasks. While Australian prisoners performed least well, relative to the general population, in identifying issues in continuous prose passages from newspapers, and in quantitative tasks, many adults in the general community were

found to have difficulties in these areas as well.

Between countries, and even between institutions, the interpretation of norms and the methods of literacy assessment vary, even though the definitions adopted by UNESCO at its General Conferences of 1958 and 1978 respectively are generally accepted for its own statistical purposes:

Illiterate: A person is illiterate who cannot with understanding both read and write a short simple statement on his everyday life.

Functionally illiterate: A person is functionally illiterate who cannot engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning of his group and community and also for enabling him to continue to use reading, writing and calculation for his own and the community's development.

Even these standardised definitions allow for wide variation according to the context of the individual, group or community in question. The core elements--reading and writing--are tied to performance norms laid down by those who test the population, and may reflect the attitudes of predominant forces within societies with regard to the determination of developmental needs, the distribution of knowledge, social conventions and economic growth, etc. Standards of acceptable performance can range from reading and writing one's name or a brief message learned by rote to the achievement of a particular reading age, completion of a specified number of school grades, or coping with complex daily situations, and there are no hard lines between literacy, functional literacy and "full" literacy (Kirsch and Jungeblut 1986).

It is therefore wise to regard statistics on literacy as situation-specific, although the composite picture of literacy in prisons clearly shows a universal pattern of low achievement and expectations. Those who are illiterate in prisons are doubly marginalised, and suffer from their inability to use literacy skills to defend their interests and to gain access to relevant knowledge and benefits.

There is also the particular problem of persons imprisoned in a system of which the working language, and frequently the language of educational instruction, is not their own mother tongue or language of customary use. Usually this means that a totally different language is spoken, but wider questions can be raised about the mutual intelligibility of prisoners' home sociolects and the official language of the judicial and penal system. According to the ADEPPI report on prisons in Francophone Belgium, more than half of the prisoners without any school leaving certificate had insufficient knowledge of French. This does not correlate with the proportion of foreigners in the sample, who numbered less than a third (29.5%). North Africans in prison showed the highest percentage of illiteracy (36%), but the French came a close second (32%) (ADEPPI 1990: 4).

3.4. Types of offence, length of stay and recidivism

In the Preface to the 1989 *Yearbook of Correctional Education*, Duguid describes the harsh reality of prison education: in the USA and Canada (1987 figures), 69% of adult offenders had committed crimes against the person, while only 25% had committed crimes against property. In France on the other hand, theft of property is the largest category of offence (Ministère de la Justice 1988: 22, 35):

- 43.1 % - theft
- 18.6 % - violence against the person
- 11.0 % - offence against morals
- 2.2 % - disturbance of public order
- 2.2 % - offence against national security
- 22.1 % - other - mostly drug offences

Leach (1989) gives a similar rank order for Burkina Faso.

The concentration of drug offences in travel and distribution centres is seen, for example, in figures supplied by Theis (1991) for Luxembourg, but this does not mean that many other crimes against the person and property are not related to drug dependency.

There are distinctions between the sexes, and between countries in terms of what is considered a punishable crime. The figures from Sri Lanka (1988) show the following categories of crime among women in custody:

- 28.7 % - prostitution
- 16.4 % - vagrancy
- 8.9 % - theft
- 8.6 % - sale of liquor
- 7.5 % - illicit sexual activity and pregnancy
- 5.2 % - sale of drugs

In Papua New Guinea, Local and District Courts sentence women and men for adultery, and a survey conducted in 1986 shows that the rural population regard this act as a very serious offence (Bradley 1988). Information from countries following Islamic law in this and other matters is not to hand.

It is widely assumed that a large proportion of offenders are recidivists. This is true. In Germany, approximately half re-offend, with a relatively higher tendency to recidivism among young persons (Vogel 1991: 5), while in France 32% of those engaged in education are recidivists (ADEP 1990).

As regards length of sentence, there is some commonality between certain industrialised countries. In Dutch prisons, percentages of length of stay are as follows (Brand-Koolen 1987: 5):

- 80 % less than 6 months
- 10 % 6 to 12 months
- 10 % more than 12 months

Germesheid distinguishes between long-term and short-term prisoners in a study of Alberta, as do many systems formally or informally. The short-term average length of sentence is 0.48 years; the long-term 3.4 years. Figures from France (Barre 1990) and Finland (Finland Ministry of Justice 1991) are comparable.

There are significant consequences of length of stay for education. In some systems, education is only available within a given period before release. Elsewhere, it may be impossible for prisoners to complete a course, either because they are discharged, or because they are transferred from one institution to another with no chance of continuity. This consideration very clearly affects those on remand, awaiting trial or sentencing. These persons represent a significant proportion of the total number held in prisons, even though they are not yet all determined to be offenders. In the Netherlands, a recent figure suggests that 70% of prisoners have been sentenced (Brand-Koolen 1987), while in France the figure is only 57% (Barre 1990). Policy on providing education to remand prisoners varies: in particular, vocational training which involves outside agencies and requires commitment of resources greater than a classroom and a teacher may be restricted to those convicted to a term anticipated to last as long as the training (Meuret 1990).

For long-term prisoners, especially those serving life or near-life sentences, the notion of preparation for vocational activity, and throughout most of the sentence even the idea of social reinsertion, is irrelevant and inappropriate. The importance of planning the educational progression of inmates, both within the system and in subsequent follow-up outside ("through-care") is seen.

4. ALIENATION AND MOTIVATION

Implicit in the previous section is an alienation between prisoners and the agencies of the society which have convicted or remanded them. It must be admitted that the prison setting of education, and of all other activities, is abnormal. It is therefore remarkable that educational staff can overcome this barrier to the degree which is in some cases attained. They find themselves in a situation where it is unprofessional to criticise the prison administration in front of inmates, while they must fight for the interests of education programmes with the self-same administration.

4.1. Conflict of cultural values

The norms of life adumbrated in correctional social education: expectation of employment, stable social relations, legal means of acquiring enough money to live, modesty in expectations of living standards, the ability to manage a budget, the ability to confront authority without violence, respect for property rights, freedom from threats of violence from others, etc., are often far removed from the experience of prisoners both in and out of prisons, and from the social environments to which they know they will return.

This gulf in perceptions of normal reality provokes some practitioners to ask whether educators are justified in seeking to change behaviours and values at all. On the one hand, there is a reluctance to set up certain sociocultural norms--those of the "system" which convicted the prisoner--as superior to those of the offender's social milieu. On the other, there is a feeling frequently expressed that a proportion of prisoners are educational under-achievers, whose frustration with the limitations of their environment is expressed in criminal activity. (This would account for the variation in learning ability which is commonly noted among offenders with low educational attainment.) The usual response to those doubting the supremacy of "higher" norms and values is that it is proper to give prisoners the right to choose between different behaviours, on the basis of a range of conventional values which they failed to consider in committing an offence. In the context of basic education, it is easily agreed that literacy must be made available to everyone, in order that each person can function in a society where institutions rely on written information. Nonetheless, there remain unresolved anxieties about the destruction of the cultures of ethnic and social groups whose mode of expression is wholly or predominantly oral.

A more crushing answer is that prisons serve society's needs, and that in order to protect society, acceptable social behaviour must be inculcated. This self-evidently means change, but it does not mean that change can be induced by force, or fear of further retribution alone.

4.2. Primacy of security

In some systems, literacy or more general basic education are compulsory for those deemed to be below a given educational level. In others, work is compulsory, while elsewhere it may be obligatory not to work if none is provided. Inactivity, idleness and boredom may in consequence be prescribed. In all prison systems, the overriding consideration is security, for that is in the nature of a prison. Even where prisoners are allowed to attend education outside, to take part in sporting activities or to work and be trained in outside enterprises, rules are devised which seek to limit the security risk.

Offenders can observe the consequences of this situation. They see evidence of education being given a low status by prison authorities who regard it as a way of occupying prisoners and ensuring good order. If a security officer is not available to accompany them, they may suddenly be denied access to an educational facility. When they are transferred or released, their course can be abruptly interrupted or terminated. If they express interest in a particular activity, the list may be full, or the facilities lacking in the institution where they are placed. They frequently bring into prison their antipathy to all educational activity, which they regard as alien to their interests and way of life, and a likely cause of further failure and disillusionment. They may see it as a diversion which can be exploited within the coercive system to their temporary advantage, rather than for its own sake. To engage in education is then a survival technique.

4.3. Work and vocational training

Second to security comes work. This can also have a link with security: one of the two main justifications for the emphasis on work in the Ohio Plan for Productive Prisons is that "Meaningful work programs contribute to a safer, better controlled, positive prison environment and improve the efficiency of institutional operations" (Davis 1989: 4). As soon as those inmates who are deemed to need literacy have completed their course, they are assigned with others to mandatory work programs within the prison: laundry, furniture making, etc. Exceptions are made for those needing sheltered training, work and education on account of special needs.

This view of work is confirmed by a senior officer of the British prison service: "The essence of prison work is that it is primarily custodial, implying both the care and control of inmates, and it requires a sound management structure to support it" (Dunbar 1990: 30).

In France, work ceased to be compulsory in 1987 (Meuret 1990), while in Finland work, general education and vocational training are mandatory (Finland Ministry of Justice 1991). However, the present widespread international concern to see an integrated programme of education, work and recreational activities

indicates that a balance has not generally been achieved. Also, it is insufficient to turn work into vocational training: Dubes (1990) is highly critical of French vocational training programmes, which are perceived, like work, as serving the needs of the institution rather than the needs of the offender. Inmates show no interest in training for low-level jobs such as kitchen porter, general building labourer, plumber's assistant, etc. This must reflect an assessment by offenders of the attractiveness of such employment both in prison and after release. Whether work and/or vocational training are compulsory or not, they may therefore be seen by offenders as irrelevant to their interests and needs, and merely as part of the coercive system.

A creative approach is taken in Nigerian prisons:

Vocational training is part of the daily routine of maintaining the prison system. Inmates are assigned on entry into prison to master-tradesmen and learn the skills of the trades through the watch-and-do method...Some of the trades available in Nigerian prisons include: carpentry, shoemaking, tailoring, masonry, plumbing, weaving and sewing...Social clubs visit prisons bringing materials and tools to the inmates due to lack of materials in the workshops. (Enuku 1989: 117)

But here too, the interests of the institution are served by the work done. Moreover, on release, self-employment is the only way to earn a living, since the government is the largest employer and prohibits ex-offenders from government service.

An opposite view was of necessity taken in countries with centrally planned socialist economies, where vocational training in prisons and "resocialisation centres" (Wydawnictwo Prawnicze 1987) aimed to resocialise ex-offenders by placing them on release in state employment. This does not necessarily indicate consultation with the prisoner on the type of training.

4.4. Good adult education practice

Against a background of alienation and systemic coercion, motivation is crucial to active educational participation and progress. Numerous practitioners call attention to the central position occupied in motivation by a sensation of achievement and of increased self-confidence, both in the context of prison education and in education and training elsewhere. Many prison education curricula see these personal changes therefore as their aim, and adopt appropriate techniques and course structures. A typical summary of a style of learning which reinforces learning in the context of courses presented in learning units is provided by Sedlak and Karcz (1989: 4). A survey of 62 teachers resulted in the following list of principal strategies for obtaining educational objectives in prisons:

1. provide positive experience to inmates for purpose of raising self-esteem
2. assist inmates to become responsible for their own actions
3. assist inmates to understand that education provides them with more choice-making opportunities in their lives
4. provide multiple grade-level increases during an academic year
5. utilize an individualized competency-based instruction format for delivering educational services

The first of these, positive experience, can be emphasised in cultural activities such as visual arts education, drama and sports, while the second and third may frequently be implicit rather than explicit, and are also closely associated with team creativity. The last stresses the importance of educational counselling and the negotiation of educational programmes and curricula. In addition, it is commonly remarked that schoolroom situations should be avoided in favour of egalitarian social conduct between adult students and their teacher, and conventional adult education seating arrangements such as the horseshoe (e.g., Canino 1990).

The word "inmate" needs only to be replaced by "student" to see that adult education practice should be followed, and none of the foregoing remarks would be out of place in the context of the training of adult education teachers.

However, there is a major difference between general adult education and prison education. In the former, students are attending entirely voluntarily, and may drop out if dissatisfied. In the latter, even when enrolment is voluntary, regular attendance is generally compulsory and alternative activities less than inviting. There is always some doubt as to the long-term effect. While the discussion groups held in Macon, Georgia, USA, were judged to have created a sense of community, combated idleness, isolation and mental decay, and allowed trust, toleration, respect and friendships to grow, Coleman and Evans (1989) ask whether the effects will last. Education is one of the activities which renders imprisonment tolerable. It remains, for some inmates, part of an alien system and is left behind with the rest of that system on release.

4.4.1. *Ownership of the course*

Attention is therefore called to the importance of involving the student in the assessment of his individual learning needs, and in continual assessment of progress. The intention is that the learners should feel that they too "own" the course and take it with them when they move from one institution to another or are released.

This is not always achieved. In certain cases the prison staff themselves may be in need of basic education (Mangara 1989). The availability of funding, equipment and staff, their range of competence, and the limited number of places on any one course, restrict the possibility of planning an educational programme. On the other hand, places must be filled, so that the particular prevocational training which is recommended may be irrelevant both to the home background of

the prisoner, to which he or she will return, and to the circumstances of the institution to which he or she is next transferred. The related problem of non-completion of courses has already been alluded to.

Underlying the question of negotiation of curriculum is another, troubling matter. This is the gulf between the value systems, perceptions, and entire cultures of the learner and the knowledge system to be taught. It may be wider even than the alienation in cultural values mentioned earlier in this report. The example of mathematics may be given, where it is known that the methods taught in schools and adult education are not those used with adequate results by many people in their everyday lives (e.g., Balfanz 1990). There is, in mathematics and other school subjects, but also in judicial processes and other less formal verbal exchanges, no precise means of determining whether the hearer truly comprehends what the speaker says. A whole range of new concepts and vocabulary confronts a learner who abandoned school at the age of 13, while the teacher may fail to see the logic of a student's reasoning or to comprehend learning difficulties. As yet, this question has not been adequately researched in the context of prisons, although it has been examined in other contexts by sociologists of education and sociolinguists.

Much anecdotal evidence exists to support the contention that there is a gulf in understanding. Words are used in inappropriate contexts, messages are distorted, and errors made in carrying out allocated tasks. In recognition of the situation, Canino (1990) suggests that the teacher should be far less concerned with the cognitive teaching of a subject than with acting as an intermediary between two value systems, and with finding out about the specifics of the learner's methods of perceiving the world. Only if there is no unbridgeable gap between the learner and the matter to be learnt can it be supposed that the learner can truly internalise and "own" what is taught.

4.4.2. *An individualised approach*

No two inmates have equal aptitudes, interest or previous knowledge, so that those correctional institutions which can afford it should use individualised, self-pacing approaches (Bellorado 1986; Isabelle 1989). Flexible programmes, at fixed times but without fixed term dates or duration of course, can provide for open entry and exit, allowing dropping out and re-entry without loss of educational progress, and can encourage students to learn at their own pace free of the pressure of keeping up with a class. This does not mean that group work should be neglected. It is necessary to foster the social and emotional growth resulting from inter-learning in small groups through the exchange of knowledge, experience and ideas related to the learning topic. Nor does the use of self-learning materials necessarily lead to a lower student-teacher ratio in conventional adult literacy classes. The exact prison context will influence the practicability of such an approach in the light of the need for security and supervision, but a degree of toleration is already extended to educational activities. Not infrequently, one or two female teachers may be alone

in an education block with tens of male prisoners, but practitioners who have experienced this isolation from security controls report satisfactory results. Perhaps the self-control usually exercised in educational settings is attributable to the fact that education is the one thing which prisoners may be permitted to do by and for themselves, setting their own standards. It therefore serves more goals than the direct acquisition of literacy or other skills, and is not an obviously disruptive activity even in the eyes of unsympathetic officers.

An individualised approach is based on independent work, with the regular guidance of a teacher or tutor, especially in reading for beginners and the use of technological aids such as computers. One-to-one peer tutoring, involving inmates as tutors, helps in individualising learning, and is a variation on group work. The methods developed by Laubach, Tutor Volunteers of America, and Frontier College's Student-Centred Individualised Learning programme are examples of relevant approaches which can be used for instruction of offenders by offenders (Collins and Niemi 1989).

4.4.3. *Involvement of students in the assessment of needs*

For the purposes of providing initial motivation, the conduct of the initial assessment of a prisoner's educational needs is of considerable significance. This is an individual process, but the educational programme itself has to take account of the anticipated needs of large categories of prisoners.

In countries such as the USA, Canada and Australia, the literacy levels of prisoners are assessed by means of standardised literacy or reading tests, but this is not a general practice in developing countries. The results of tests are used to identify the discrepancy between literacy norms and the individual's level: this is then taken to represent the need. However, there are two other elements in assessing an educational need. These are the relevance of the educational provision to the immediate and prospective situation of the learner, and the learner's motivation. Where these elements are absent, there is no felt need to overcome the educational deficiency.

In the context of imprisonment, inmates may not feel a need to acquire or improve literacy unless the institutional environment makes them aware of their inability to function to their own satisfaction. Black (1984) favours the view of Charnley and Jones (1978) that if certain persons can manage their lives without reference to literacy, those who are sub-literate are the people who know that they are. Immediately perceived needs may therefore be the writing of letters to family, filling in forms to buy personal supplies, applying for prison benefits, or formal requests for legal redress or review (Black 1989). Vocational needs can also be felt more than literacy and other academic learning needs. Inmates relate vocational skills to income generation both within the prison and outside, after release.

Felt needs are used as a starting point for clarification of educational needs and possibilities among adults in general. Given that literacy is part of a package of

basic education and other counselling and rehabilitative services, and in the context of the need for learners to provide their own motivation, informal interviews are an appropriate adjunct to, or replacement for, standardised tests. This is particularly so when standardised treatment is a feature of corrective institutions, in which the personalities and particular circumstances of inmates are for many purposes overlooked.

The study from Sri Lanka (Sri Lanka Ministry of Education 1988) reports in detail on the collective assessment of needs in selected correction centres for women. Before a basic education programme was designed, informal interviews were conducted with the population directly concerned: a sample of female inmates, prison authorities, instructors, welfare workers and the officers of the relevant welfare organisations, and directors of social services. The needs thus identified were sorted into a list that was used as a survey instrument containing 61 potential needs in four major categories:

- guidance and counselling needs
- literacy needs
- vocational needs
- follow-up needs

Resource persons with extensive experience in women's correction centres further refined the list and gave a weighting to each item. A list of priority needs was thereby identified, and the first ten needs were used to develop a framework for an educational programme to meet the needs of the women inmates. The final list can broadly be categorised into physical, moral, cultural and aesthetic, vocational and academic needs.

The involvement of inmates, even if as junior partners, should have ensured that a broadly relevant curriculum was designed, although this says nothing about the placing of individuals within it or the methods of its implementation. A group of commentators on the situation in France (Leplâtre 1990b; Martos 1990; Queneutte 1990; Rosselle 1990) complain that prisoners' opinions are rarely sought on the progress of innovative projects.

4.5. Certification and other rewards

The fourth item in the list at the beginning of this section drawn from Sedlak and Karcz refers to the practice of giving formal recognition to progress made within an ordered curriculum. The formal advance from one grade to another, and the award of a certificate at the end of a unit or a course, are strong motivational factors for those who left school without any such evidence of achievement.

An example of the attainment of a satisfactory level of basic education being further rewarded with improved prison conditions is the mandatory literacy

programme in the Federal Prison System in the USA. This originally required that all inmates who were found not to have reached the level of the sixth grade should enrol in an adult basic literacy programme. The minimum grade level has now been raised to eighth grade. The attainment of the equivalent to sixth, and now eighth grade is a prerequisite for promotion to jobs above the most menial level. The acceptance of the programme by both staff and inmates has been surprising. Success has been attributed to the connection of literacy achievement with wages and promotion on the one hand, and with the introduction of computer-aided instruction on the other (McCollum 1989).

Other types of incentive to follow basic education tuition with success are offered in the prison context. Attendance can be considered equal to a work assignment, so that inmates receive the same small wage for either. Financial rewards can be given for achievement of a particular literacy level. Achievement is closely linked to eligibility for vocational training, and can be tied to work release, special privileges, reductions in sentence or release on parole. In Colombia, for instance, the law establishes that for every three days an inmate attends the basic education programme, the sentence is reduced by one day (Ministerio de Educación Nacional 1989a). In certain cases, additional food may be provided for those who participate in education (Leach 1989).

5. CURRICULA OF BASIC EDUCATION IN PRISONS

There is a very wide range of educational provision across the penal systems of different countries. It extends potentially from no educational provision at all, to a full programme of vocational and non-vocational basic, secondary and higher education which is easily accessible and backed up by counselling, post-release follow-up and facilities such as libraries, sports and cultural activities. Much of the same statement obviously applies to education for juveniles and adults among the general population. There is indeed a continuing argument as to whether the adult education outside and inside prisons differs at all in its nature, and if so, to what degree. On the one hand, it is clear that provision in prisons will have some relationship to education outside, both in curriculum, methods of assessment for certification, overall aims and availability of resources. On the other, it has particularities, the most obvious of which are that it may be seen as overtly corrective, and that its context entails certain restrictions arising from security regulations (such as special arrangements for field visits and lack of access to laboratories).

5.1. Basic education

Basic education is understood to mean literacy, numeracy and social skills, with elements of what used to be called "general knowledge", frequently related to the situation of inmates in prisons and thereby giving a minimum understanding of the mechanisms which put them there and the sociopolitical structure of the society outside. It is impossible to draw a hard line between basic and continuing, vocational or "general" education, whether leading to a qualification or not. Students who need basic education may be found following courses which demand a high level of reading skill, adopting a range of coping techniques learnt in the world outside to disguise their inability, and gradually accepting incidental literacy tuition. At the same time, since literacy does not teach words in isolation, the sentences used as exemplars have some meaning which may be related to general and subject knowledge. It may be borne in mind that:

We do not simply read, we always read something. The social content of literacy, therefore, must be given due consideration. There seems to exist today a great divide between those who want to teach literacy for the professionalisation of labour and those who want to teach for liberation. In the real world, people do not make dichotomous choices between freedom and bread. They want both... (Bhola 1989: 13)

Increasingly, keyboard skills are being seen as a necessary pre-vocational skill. Computers are intensively used in some prison education centres, usually for self-learning by those already literate but not necessarily highly numerate. Competition for resources may restrict the use of new technologies, but where close links exist between adult education inside and outside prisons, the software used to teach literacy and numeracy is applicable and applied. As yet, generous provision of equipment is in many countries limited to pilot or demonstration projects.

It will be noted that not all prison curricula, even in basic education, allow for flexibility of content and method. While it has to be accepted for practical purposes that an examination course must cover the prescribed syllabus, there need not be the same rigidity in basic education. It can be, but not always is, a preparation for more than a first school certificate.

5.2. Literacy

Reading and writing is frequently offered as an area of learning separate from other subjects, and it is imposed in those systems where literacy is obligatory for offenders who are judged to have a low reading age or who fail a standardised test. Even where participation in literacy tuition is not mandatory, the assessors who examine prisoners on their admission to an institution can, wittingly or unwittingly, give the impression that it is so, with the result they submit to the proposal in the same way that they must submit to much else (cf. Black 1984). Participation in literacy can also be seen as a right. In the UK, for example, offenders must be released from work to take part in ten hours of basic education per week during daylight hours if their reading age is judged to be lower than 11.6 years.

Literacy tuition may be confined to prisoners serving longer sentences, if a course for total illiterates is planned to run for more than a few months. This is the case in Sri Lanka (Dharmadasa 1989), where classes are held in English, Sinhala and Tamil, using voluntary teachers.

Methodology varies. Where materials and methods are borrowed from primary school teaching, as is usually the case in Spain (Diaz 1991), they can remind the learner of previous failure. But even if they are specially designed for adults, they do not necessarily follow the model of andragogy favoured in adult community education, where the curriculum is supposed to be constantly renegotiated with the learners. If the acquisition of literacy is seen as a linear progression from unit 1 to unit 20, using computer-aided error correction, there is little room for negotiation.

There is a marked contrast, even in the Anglophone world, between the incorporation of on-going counselling into a discursive style of basic education, generally observed in Ireland and the UK, and the separation of counselling and education functions, observed in many States of the USA, whereby a unit of education is treated as a closed sequence of actions which addresses a need

identified during previous assessment and counselling, and which can be followed by further units or further counselling. While basic education can be regarded as a prescribed course lasting 90 days in one system, it can be an open-ended entry into broader education in another.

A common question in the context of literacy teaching is that of the target language and the language of instruction. Wielenga and de Jong (1991) comment on the attempt in Dutch prisons to meet the needs of speakers of languages other than Dutch. The intention is to lead allochthonous (non-Dutch) speakers from illiteracy to literacy in their mother tongue and Dutch, in the following logical order:

1. speaking and understanding the mother tongue
2. reading and writing the mother tongue
3. speaking and understanding the second language
4. reading and writing the second language

The inclusion of literacy in the mother tongue is predicated on the assumption, confirmed by research in other contexts, that it accelerates rather than impedes the acquisition of literacy in the target second language, even where a second alphabet is needed. Stage 2 is, however, not realised because of a shortage of allochthonous teachers. Instead, stage 3 has to be begun immediately using conventional second language teaching adapted for the absence of written stimuli, i.e. by resorting to listening, watching and non-verbal reaction until the student can produce verbal actions and reactions.

5.3. Literacy extension

Initiatives other than tuition labelled as literacy or basic education can encourage, reinforce and even teach literacy. Of particular relevance to the written word are libraries, reading clubs, and newsletters or other informal publications containing writing by prisoners.

5.3.1. Libraries

Certain countries have legislation requiring prisons to contain libraries. This was enacted in the UK in 1964, for example, and in Spain in 1979 (Blunt 1990, Diaz 1991). Beyond vague references to "regular access", it is however left to ministries or local prison authorities to determine timing, frequency and conditions of access, not to mention the scope of the contents.

Libraries can do more than lend a limited range of books. That at Wheatfield Prison, in Dublin, Ireland,

holds exhibitions, lectures and discussions, runs a video recording service and publishes a weekly in-house magazine--as well as lending books and cassettes! Prisoners are very involved in the running of the library, under the direction of professional librarians and library officers. (Warner 1991: 12)

Terwiel (1991) points out the importance of collaboration between prison libraries and public libraries outside, so that there is a regular rotation of stock.

5.3.2. *Reading clubs and newsletters*

In 1990 a reading club was opened as an 18-month project in a closed institution for juvenile offenders at Hahnöfersand, near Hamburg, Germany. Newspaper articles and extracts from novels and poems are read aloud to participants not only by the inmates, but also by the organiser and students of applied social science from a higher education college in the city. The latter are contributing to the project as part of their course, under the direction of the organiser. Approximately 10% of inmates take part in the club, which insists on its informal nature by setting up its own coffee machine and by the absence of uniformed security officers. The choice of extracts is open to negotiation. Out of this reading club has already arisen a common desire to write, but "here we faced the problem that some of the participants did not know how to write. In these cases students [from the college in Hamburg] or other inmates discreetly acted as scribes" (Budweg and Schins 1991: 9).

Such initiatives depend to a great extent on external support, frequently voluntary, but cannot take place without the facilities dependent on the permission and encouragement of the authorities. In case of Hahnöfersand, it is intended that the club should continue to meet after the conclusion of the college project under the guidance of a member of the security staff, who will assume responsibility over a period of time in order to demonstrate trustworthiness to the participants and win their confidence.

Black (1984) also calls attention to the importance of informal social networks which help illiterate inmates to overcome feelings of inadequacy and shame at being illiterate. Their mutual support is a significant example of inter-learning, promoting literacy and social contact skills. These networks need not be confined to prisoners interacting without outside intervention, but can receive support through clubs.

Further reinforcement can be provided by the printing of students' writing in internal newssheets, local area prison newsletters (such as *Inside*, printed in and for Dublin prisons, or similar productions in Japan (Japan Ministry of Justice 1990)), or other collections of writing by "new writers". This is not a statement that such literature is necessarily of lasting import or high artistic quality, although it sometimes proves to be so, but it is an effective method of reinforcing achievement and enhancing self-esteem.

5.3.3. *Discussion groups*

An alternative to reading clubs is offered by discussion based on other stimuli. An example of such a programme in Portugal is given by Leite (1991). Themes covered, using inputs by outside experts, have so far been health, legal and illegal drugs, the integration of Portugal into the European Community, and the Portuguese cultural heritage.

Hartl (1989) describes ten years' experience with four discussion groups using a very different type of input for 12-14 male recidivists aged between 21 and 50, in a small prison in Czechoslovakia. Educational sessions with the tutor lasted for 90 minutes once a week, in a circle setting. Every meeting had the same structure, starting with relaxation, continuing with discussion and a number of group techniques, and ending with diary-writing.

At the close-security Central Correctional Institution at Macon, Georgia, with 540 inmates, two discussion groups of 14 and 13 inmates were created, meeting for two hours per week over 12 weeks (Coleman and Evans 1989). The groups were modelled on The National Issues Forums, designed to help the general public become more informed about public issues, and they provided opportunities for frank self-expression: "the study circle provided a chance to speak one's mind, to have an honest opinion, and to talk without fear of retaliation" (p. 14).

Discussion groups can not only motivate learning and provide for development of self-expression, besides teaching matters of importance to the basic education of inmates, but they also act as a counterbalance to situations in which "in most correctional education classrooms, students sit as isolates at a study carrel and respond to programmed instructional materials...The passive role of the lone learner often results in boredom and inertia" (Coleman and Evans 1989: 5-6).

As has been indicated above, there are alternative models of education which do not leave learners isolated for as long, so that the formal institution of discussion groups may not be as necessary: Queneutte (1990) remarks the importance of teacher and group support if even a well-equipped self-education room is established.

5.4. *Social skills*

An important part of basic education, particularly for those shown to be poor at making and maintaining social contacts without aggression, at observing basic standards of personal care, and at making even simple decisions, is the acquisition of social skills. This can mean specific activities such as coping with the bureaucratic requirements of authorities encountered in daily life: the post office, social services and social security/welfare, etc., or -- more controversially -- learning to understand the judicial and penal system. Larson (1989) suggests that deficient

social problem-solving skills are related to social maladjustment which cannot be explained by other variables such as socioeconomic class or intelligence.

Social skills are also known as "life skills". In Maryland, USA, these are seen as comprising consumer economics, community resources, health, occupational knowledge, and government and law (Miller 1989).

Occupational knowledge includes a realistic assessment of one's employment chances on the basis of relevant skills and certification, preparing job applications, and responding to interviews. It is self-evident that many of these tasks are inseparable from literacy. Basic literacy on its own, however, is not enough, as it needs to be applied in a range of situations in which a background knowledge of the context is the key to understanding (e.g., in completing any government form).

There are yet broader interpretations of social skills. For some, they can mean training to cope with housework such as cleaning, cooking, laundry, etc. (Svensson 1991). Depending on the administrative arrangements of the prison, such learning can obviously be integrated into prison work, under appropriate supervision. But there is also the less easily definable issue of building self-confidence and changing attitudes. These goals are attainable through any area of learning, since they are closely related to sympathetic and informal methods and frequency of assessing progress, and to the personal relationship between students, and between student and teacher. In certain cases, such as the anger control training at Wakefield, UK (McDougall 1989), behaviour is directly addressed. Social behaviour, while a necessary part of any group learning activity, may be regarded as a learnable social skill and is closely interwoven into discussion groups.

Social skills are an essential part of pre-release training, such as that foreseen in the British "Fresh Start" programme, which is being introduced as teaching staff become available (Pryor 1990). In this case, there are close links with general vocational skills training. In Nantes, France, an extensive programme of vocational training is offered, leading to nationally recognised qualifications, and it is out of this formal training that has grown a small programme for 30 out of 450 male prisoners of low educational attainment (Leplâtre 1990a): this also aims at entry into employment on release, and therefore incorporates job-seeking skills, personal skills and pre-vocational qualifications, as well as literacy.

It may cogently be argued that education of prisoners without attitude change may only produce skilled criminals (Duguid 1991). As it is, prisons throughout the world provide a setting for much learning of criminal behaviour and for the exchange of information on how to beat the system (Leach 1989). The social context of teaching is therefore extremely important. The Maryland programme, based on the "Maryland Adult Performance Program" used in adult education centres for the general public, was devised in units which could be completed independently by students, including those under movement restrictions, while the British model, for example, tends to be looser and to require attendance at an education centre and frequent social interaction with a teacher.

5.5. Basic education by other means

It is not necessary to label a course "basic education" in order to provide basic skills. Formal vocational training for trades such as motor mechanic, baker or electrician, usually assumes competence in basic skills already, at least in those societies where literacy is regarded as the norm. But it has already been seen that pre-vocational training before release must incorporate skills of literacy, numeracy, and confronting large systems such as state agencies and employers. Moreover, through vocational training, inadequacies in literacy and numeracy will become evident, and social skills will necessarily be developed.

As has been remarked in the context of Sri Lanka, "Living, recreational and informal educational facilities come under one category as they are linked together and are fundamental in bringing about changes in the behavioural patterns of inmates" (Sri Lanka Ministry of Education 1988: 45). There is a common perception between those who believe in correctional education in its literal sense, i.e., that behaviour patterns can be corrected, and those who advocate the teaching of humanities in prisons, for without educational material that offers a range of values as well as a set of performance skills, there is little chance of the adoption of alternatives to the models of behaviour which the student followed when committing an offence. The higher education extension programme in humanities developed at Simon Fraser University, British Columbia, Canada (Duguid 1987), is recommended in this connection, and while study at that level may not be accessible immediately to those in need of basic education, similar arguments are advanced in favour of various other cultural activities.

Social skills in particular, and literacy and numeracy, can be learnt, though not necessarily taught, in the context of a range of prison activities, especially those with an element of group dynamics. Leach (1989) gives examples of subjects which have supplemented formal primary education in prisons in Burkina Faso since 1983:

- physical activities (neighbourhood football)
- gardening, both by individuals and in groups
- a variety of arts and crafts
- music and drama
- income generation by selling produce
- discussions with animators

These nearly all involve group cooperation.

5.5.1. *Writing of plays*

The writing of plays need not exclude illiterates, any more than they are excluded from reading clubs. Since 1973, at the request of the French Ministry of Culture,

a programme has been run for drug addicts, juvenile offenders, the mentally handicapped and adult prisoners, enabling them to express themselves in plays through *Ateliers de création populaire* (popular creativity workshops) (Gatti 1990). In Fleury-Mérogis prison, Gatti's writing and acting with prisoners is part of vocational training for stage technicians. It can take several months until a text is written and read in front of everyone. Often the writing is phonetic, and illiterates dictate to those who can manage to write a few more words. From these discussions and confrontations, Gatti writes a play, which the actors modify during rehearsals. In a personal statement of belief, Gatti insists that there is no therapeutic intent in this project, but the result is nonetheless a manifest increase in self-esteem and in the chances of successful reintegration into society.

5.5.2. *Sports and physical education*

A similar argument can be advanced in respect to sports and physical education. Usually, this area of activity is not mentioned in discussion of prison education, even though there are educational elements in the development of sports skills and in the social interaction between team members; it is not uncommon for prison teams to play against teams from the neighbourhood outside. The lack of reference to sport is probably attributable to the split between security officers and "civilian" educational staff. Physical training is usually arranged, supervised and taught by security staff, but the German state of Baden-Württemberg has, in publishing its guidelines for sports in prisons (*Sportleitplan*), seen sport as a bridge to other activities as well as an activity which is worthwhile in itself (Kofler 1991). Activities conducted outside prison, such as canoeing, mountain walking, cycling and skiing, provide possible areas of continued learning after release, and clearly raise self-confidence among those who are illiterate and lacking in formal educational skills. Links have also been established between institutions providing therapy for drug addicts, and sports programmes for drug addicts in prisons.

5.5.3. *Writers' workshops and visual arts*

Of a more obvious educational nature are writers' workshops and visual arts programmes. Since the beginning of the 1980s, the Arts Council of Ireland has cooperated with the Prison Education Service in operating a series of writers' workshops in prisons, and in each prison is at least one teacher of visual arts. In the opinion of Coakley (1989), an art teacher at Cork prison, Ireland, the technical difficulties of self-expression through visual art are greater than through writing, but the experience of a major arts education programme in Dutch prisons suggests that a large number of staff and inmates can produce results in the various visual and plastic media with which they and their teachers can be satisfied.

Following a pilot project, seven regular art courses were launched throughout the Netherlands in 1984 to train prison security officers to teach art, in a

collaboration between the Ministries of Justice and Culture, and the National Institute for Arts Education (LOKV) (van der Hoeven 1991). The scheme has now grown, enabling art counsellors to be appointed by LOKV to the 46 prisons in the country, to give continuing guidance to the prison officers who are now teaching art. This programme is part of a larger reform by the Dutch prison service, whereby newly recruited prison staff receive 13 weeks of basic training in their first two years of service, and a further 12 weeks over the next years. This includes group dynamics, and a specialisation in either sport, arts or education. They are therefore beginning to work as part of education teams, with fully trained education staff.

5.6. Learning strategies

In considering appropriate methods of facilitating basic education in prisons, guidance can be provided by research into methods of strengthening literacy learning for other special groups. Key features of successful experiences are flexibility, relevance and involvement. Among the strategies identified by UIE for literacy learning (and more particularly for post-literacy) from case studies of practices in 20 developing countries, a number may be picked out as being of particular relevance in institutions:

- newspapers, wall-newspapers, posters and magazines for neo-literates
- supplementary reading materials in addition to course books
- extension literature produced by development agencies such as health departments, agricultural extension services, etc.
- radio, television, video, films, etc. (so-called New Media)
- correspondence courses
- libraries and mobile exhibitions (cf. Ouane 1989: 5)

And to these can be added as it becomes available:

- computer-assisted instruction using literacy software

Although all these types of material and equipment exist in industrialised countries (see, for example the *Guide to Resources* in Ireland by Kett, 1985), even there awareness of their applicability in prisons has not been universal (ALBSU 1985).

The intention of all the above strategies is to create a literate environment, in which the use of literacy, at first at a simple level, becomes an attainable norm for learners, especially for neo-literates. The use of television and radio broadcasts may be restricted by the unsuitability of the viewing schedule, but the availability of recording facilities is spreading.

Three factors are crucial in adult literacy teaching in the prison context: the selection of literacy materials designed for adults rather than children, the

opportunity to apply newly acquired or strengthened literacy, and a style which addresses individuals rather than a whole class face-to-face (Wehrens 1981). Since conventional classes have not been a positive experience for those illiterate or semi-literate adults who have attended school, alternative arrangements have proved to be more successful in motivating students and enhancing their learning.

Where developing countries use literacy and basic education programmes which are separate from vocational training, these frequently follow the traditional model of adult education centres or evening schools, which are themselves based on the model of formal education for children. There is, however, one significant innovation reported: the involvement of inmates as teachers or tutors in Colombia (Ministerio de Educación Nacional 1989a), Nigeria (Enuku 1991) and Mali.² This approach is also highly recommended in studies from industrialised countries (Collins and Niemi 1989; Bellorado 1986; Steurer 1991). Inmate tutors can relate better than outside teachers to other prisoners, and with appropriate training they can both gain from the experience themselves and be more effective.

6. ORGANISATION AND FUNDING OF PRISON EDUCATION

It is usual for all prison facilities to be run by government. This may be at central, provincial or local level, depending on the division of powers between the centre and the regions of a state. There are instances of prisons being managed by private companies under contract to government, notably in France and the USA, but it is too early to tell whether this trend will grow substantially, and the involvement of private companies does not always extend to the programmes within.

6.1. Providers of education in prisons

The various patterns of provision may be summarised as follows:

- Control by a state-wide authority, which employs educational staff and allocates them to prisons
- Control by the local prison administration, employing educational staff directly
- Intervention by a separate state-wide educational agency, under contract to provide teachers (and to draw up an educational programme)
- Intervention by a separate local educational agency, under contract to provide teachers (and to draw up an educational programme)
- Specific contracts for individual projects awarded to outside agencies, including voluntary agencies
- Admission of one or more voluntary agencies, which draw up a programme
- Facilities provided by the local prison administration for self-help among prisoners
- No provision

Supervision of teaching will not necessarily be provided by the employing agency. An education officer answering to the prison administration may award local contracts and be responsible within the prison system for satisfactory performance. Links with educators outside the prison service (especially in further, adult, or continuing education) may be formally provided, informally and irregularly maintained, or non-existent. There may also be distinctions between education for remand prisoners and convicted persons, and between young offenders and adults, notably when offenders are under the permitted school-leaving age and subject to school curricula.

Facilities for teaching vary from total absence to showplace project sites, well equipped with furniture, computers and audiovisual aids, art and craft materials, and reading matter. Similarly, the methods of informing prisoners of education available

may vary from the informal to the formal, and initial assessment, induction and orientation are undertaken by a variety of staff. It may be accomplished in a single interview, over a period of a week or several months.

Besides prison administrators, clerical staff, security officers and teachers, many others are involved in the day-to-day functioning of prisons: social workers, psychologists, librarians, medical staff, chaplains, caterers, building maintenance staff, cleaners, etc., and instructors in vocational skills and physical education, who may be quite separate categories from educational staff. Some of the above functions are carried out by prisoners, and outside volunteers with or without professional training. In addition, there may be relationships with outside employers and rehabilitation agencies, including ex-offenders' organisations and parole or probation staff. Occasional visits from inspectors, lecturers, entertainers and researchers impinge to some degree on routine, and hence on educational programmes.

To arrange anything therefore requires the cooperation of a large number of actors, and it is easy to understand why systemic resistance to change can be strong. On the other hand, the stability of the system, and the constant disposability of the inmates, should enable some education to be offered to all within the time available.

Rules can be applied arbitrarily, or interpreted finely, both for and against the interests of the offender. In the context of outside vocational training, Leplâtre (1990a) gives the example that no rule permits a prisoner to attend an outside examination centre to sit a vocational examination. However, the penal code does allow for the movement of a prisoner when accompanied by a security officer. Thus it can be done.

6.2. Teaching staff

Not all prison education staff are government employees, still less employees of the justice department responsible for security. The identity of their employer depends on the structure of the delivery system. In some cases, as is evident from the foregoing summary, they are employed by the local or national education authority, in others directly by a college, a private or non-governmental agency or separate prison education authority which is under contract to provide education. Some are permanent, full-time employees, but many are part-time and/or on fixed-term contracts tied to the duration of a given course. Volunteers are also used, drawn usually from outside, but in certain cases from within prisons, from among both staff and inmates.

Exceptionally, the division between prison security staff and education staff is broken down by security officers' being trained to act as teachers or assistant teachers. It is usual for uniformed security staff to instruct in sports and physical education, but rare for them to teach computing or arts, as in the Dutch experience

(van der Hoeven 1991). Practitioners from other systems suggest that there could be resistance to the involvement of security officers in educational and cultural activities. The Dutch security staff were trained over an extended period, and a gradual approach to any change of role is clearly indicated if it is to be accepted by potential students.

The training and qualifications of other educational staff varies widely, from specialist training to none. The concept of a general training for prison staff who then specialise in security, social work or education has some adherents, but there is a continuing debate between practitioners as to whether it is preferable for teachers to be members of the prison service or of an education service. It is thought that they may have greater independence of professional judgment if their allegiance is to an organisation of which the sole purpose is education.

It is possible to go some way towards answering this question by asking who has control over:

- curriculum
- educational budget
- supervision of educational staff
- initial assessment and allocation of students (cf. Gehring 1990)

But regardless of their contractual status, educators are in practice often unable to take binding decisions in educational matters, but must defer to prison administrations. Fundamental decisions on the role and provision of education within prisons rest with national governments, while the local administration (i.e., the head of the institution), frequently has discretion on arrangements to enable education to take place. Because of the involvement of more than one agency, conflicts of interest can and do arise.

6.3. Collaboration with outside agencies

Non-governmental, research and teaching agencies can act as partners to prison services. A few examples will demonstrate the range.

The Belgian Atelier d'Education Permanente pour Personnes Incarcérées (ADEPPI, Lifelong Education Workshop for Prisoners), a non-governmental organisation founded in 1981 by a group of social workers, has become recognised by the Ministry of Justice of the French Community in Belgium, and receives state subsidies in order to carry out educational programmes in seven prisons. Its teachers are accorded the same professional status as those employed directly by the state.

The National Association for the Care and Rehabilitation of Offenders (NACRO), a non-governmental organisation in the UK, works closely with prison educators and other voluntary agencies, to seek to bridge the gap faced by prisoners on release between the systematic order of prison and the uncertainties of life

outside. A major part of its work is to ensure the continuation of education and training begun in prisons, through its local network of contact points for releasees.

Reference has already been made to the involvement in prison education programmes of a German higher education college and Nigerian social clubs. At Nantes prison, France, a gymnasium was built entirely by prisoners under the direction of a member of the charitable voluntary organisation, the Compagnons du Tour de France (Leplâtre 1990a).

In Burkina Faso, according to Leach (1989), volunteers have been engaged in education in one prison since 1957, both Burkinabé and foreigners. From 1983, the Mennonite Central Committee, a development agency run by the Mennonite churches of the USA and Canada, provided full-time volunteers for three-year periods, and when the salaried Burkinabé teacher left in 1986, the programme was carried forward by inmates acting as animators.

The Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit of the UK firmly recommended in 1985 the involvement of more voluntary teachers in prisons, both full-time and part-time (ALBSU 1985). Voluntary prison visitors are involved in counselling and social education in Japanese prisons, for example (Japan Ministry of Justice 1990).

Involvement of outsiders is not always easy, as they may have no experience of prison routine, and may become frustrated with what they see as unnecessary obstructions. On the other hand, they can relieve pressure on prison staff, and can reduce the tension among inmates born of boredom and purposelessness. Reference has been made to a Portuguese initiative to bring in outside speakers, while in Ireland many prison education units hold activity weeks centred on particular themes such as health, to which statutory and voluntary agencies contribute visiting staff and display materials.

A check list of possible links with outside agencies can be drawn up as follows. This is adapted from a list prepared by the British prison service (H.M. Prison Service 1990a):

- ex-offenders' and voluntary resocialisation agencies
- probation/parole service
- local health authorities (for materials on sex education, AIDS, drugs, etc.)
- extension departments of higher education colleges and universities
- other adult education, vocational education and continuing education centres and colleges
- non-formal education agencies (also for juveniles)
- regional arts groups (for visiting performances and exhibitions)
- museums
- libraries
- local press and publishers
- specialist help groups such as Alcoholics/Gamblers/Narcotics Anonymous
- religious organisations

- state and private employment agencies
- local and national charitable voluntary associations
- international donor agencies
- local and more distant specialist employers, firms and industries
- prison staff-training agencies outside the prison system
- professional associations of prison educators, and of educators of adults and juveniles among the general population
- sports clubs and associations

Despite this wide potential field of cooperation, in the 34 juvenile establishments surveyed in France by ADEP (1990), the researchers conclude that barely half had established a true partnership, and that prisons remained largely closed to representatives of the outside world. They ask whether it would pose real organisational problems to open them up, or rather symbolic problems of encroachment on "territory" (p. 12).

6.3.1. *Prisoners enrolled in courses outside*

The majority of prison systems look warily on the notion of granting prisoners leave to attend courses at institutions outside. Generally, such permission is limited to vocational training or employment in colleges and enterprises with which the prison has a formal agreement, secure transport being provided. However, in Scandinavia, selected prisoners may attend a wider range of courses. The Finnish Ministry of Justice (1990) reports that in 1990, 190 inmates studied in outside institutions, as follows:

- 112 in vocational training
- 31 in vocational school
- 11 in high school or university
- 29 in upper secondary or other education

In Denmark, prisoners may attend courses even at local adult education centres, travelling to and fro by public transport. This arrangement is available to selected basic education students as well as to those pursuing a course for which facilities are more difficult to arrange inside.³

This issue is met with a totally different answer in parts of the USA: in a partnership between the Los Angeles County Jails and a local School District, the prisons try to replicate outside working conditions for vocational training purposes rather than sending trainees out (Oliver 1989).

6.4. Through-care

The importance of continuity between education within the prison system, and education as part of social reinsertion after release, can hardly be overstated. Leach (1989) complains of a high recidivism rate, and attributes this to "the disregard of the state for the successful rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners both previous to and upon release" (p. 111).

This criticism could be levelled at the majority of countries, in the industrialised as well as in the developing world. With respect to Norway, Langelid (1991: 2) suggests that we know very well that:

- a prison sentence increases problems
- the period of release is the most difficult time: "The sentence starts when I walk out through the main gate," say many prisoners
- many have particularly pressing problems in terms of
 - . personal economy
 - . a place to stay
 - . education/employment
 - . acceptance as a member of a safe and secure community

To support his contention, Langelid quotes from a Norwegian report dated 1841 which makes the same points, but in presenting a report on one scheme to allow education in prison to lead directly into higher secondary education or employment outside, he calls attention to the continuing general neglect of through-care links.

According to the ADEP report (1990), there is no official support system for ex-offenders from juvenile institutions in France, although some educators work voluntarily to extend their role to releasees. An agency was, however, established in the Paris area as a pilot project for adult ex-offenders in 1988. This was a collaboration between probation staff and social workers, and it addressed itself primarily to ex-offenders with no home. By the end of 1988, 85% of the ex-offenders who had visited the agency had been resettled (Ministère de la Justice n.d. [1989]).

The importance of follow-up is becoming more widely recognised. In California, each vocational student in prison is assigned a "job developer" who becomes that inmate's case manager. After release, the job developer may continue to visit the ex-offender and to attend job interviews with him or her (Oliver 1991).

6.5. Funding and costs

Because of the number of actors involved in prison education, true total costs are never known, although each relevant element of the service may allocate a specific budget to education. Certain costs, such as teaching accommodation, heating, etc.,

are not usually borne by the education service, as they would be in an outside educational establishment. Furniture, transport to outside facilities, postage and telephones, etc., may or may not be a charge on the education budget. What therefore has to be directly funded for basic education by a prison education service is essentially:

- teaching staff (the major item)
- supervisory and administrative staff, and recurrent administrative costs (of an inside or outside agency)
- durable equipment (e.g. electronic aids, reprographic facilities, art equipment)
- printed materials (semi-durable)
- consumable materials (paper, art materials etc.)
- recurrent costs of reprography
- payments to outside bodies (e.g., examination fees)

For special thematic projects, additional costs may be incurred, such as drama materials, additional transport and video hire. Negotiation with outside agencies and prison authorities may result in donations.

Associated with basic education in prisons are also costs of:

- libraries (staff, stock and administrative materials)
- education staff training
- training of assistant teachers (volunteers, security officers and others)

These costs may be borne wholly or partly by other budgets, through public library services, initial education training at colleges, and the participation of national or local inservice training or specialised subject training agencies.

There is also the matter of opportunity costs. That is, production is lost if a prisoner normally employed in prison work devotes the same time to education. This can be expressed in two ways:

- net value of goods not produced, or
- costs of replacement labour (e.g., in laundry)

In some systems, there is also a cost to the prisoner through lost wages, although it is a principle of the United Nations and Council of Europe declarations that this should not occur. Equally, it is a principle that education for prisoners should be free.

What might be called opportunity costs should also occur when staff normally on teaching duties need time to negotiate with outside agencies, to conduct evaluations and extended interviews, or to take further training. Practitioners point out that this cost is never incurred because additional time is not granted.

6.5.1. *Levels of funding*

The total amount spent on rehabilitation and training in local, State and Federal prisons in the USA by 1982 was, according to Bellorado (1986), 20% of the prisons budget, but that part spent on education only 1.5%. Of this, the proportion devoted specifically to basic education was infinitesimal. At a similar time, inmates of Ghanaian prisons were not at all engaged in education, but in "eating, idleness and sleeping" (Frimpong 1982: 88).

Since then, efforts have been made. In 1985 the National Institute of Corrections, an institution of the United States Department of Justice, made an unanticipated grant of US\$30,000, for example, to the Maryland Department of Correctional Education to develop a programme for "special confinement offenders" (Miller 1989). In the UK, the funds paid to Local Education Authorities for the provision of education in prisons rose from £15.544M in 1987-88 to £21.224M in 1989-90 (Benson 1990: 7). In France, the budget for education and training has risen, but the emphasis remains on vocational training. The contributions by the Délégation à la Formation professionnelle (Vocation Training Agency) rose from Ffr 10M in 1980 to Ffr 30M in 1990 (Vanderpote 1990: 57). According to the French prisons department, Ffr 61.6M was spent in 1989 by that administration on vocational training, of which the principal items were Ffr 25.2M for outside training, and Ffr 24.7 to pay trainees (Direction de l'Administration pénitentiaire 1990).

While real increases in funding have been registered in some countries, the size of the prison population has also grown, and in certain places, there is still no prison service funding for education (Enuku 1989).

6.5.2. *Funding strategies*

There are two elements to the development of education provision, and specifically basic education, in prisons. These are the will and the means. Both sometimes appear unattainable, but they can be achieved.

Without the will, and the direction given by a strong government policy, prison administrations at all levels are unlikely to make facilities available for education. Policy measures which cost little in themselves, but which can promote the will are:

- the recognition of participation in education as equivalent to work, where work is compulsory
- a review of the training and roles of prison security staff, so that they may gradually become involved in education
- circulation and repeated citation of international declarations of intent
- specific inclusion of prisoners in policy statements relating to the provision of basic education for all citizens

- the establishment at national and regional level of joint working parties from justice and education departments
- the inclusion of education in the remit of national and international criminology research institutes
- the regular inclusion in prison statistics of assessments of literacy levels, and of participation in educational and cultural activities as well as vocational training
- the admission into penal institutions of outside researchers
- the separation of remand prisoners, first offenders and recidivists, in recognition of the fact that prisoners learn from each other, even where little or no education programme exists

and ultimately

- the institution at prison level of a management structure which gives clear representation and rights of joint decision to professional education staff

The teaching of basic education itself cannot avoid some expenditure of money as well as goodwill and time. To introduce a service which equals that available to the general public, both of school age and adult, may be an initial aim.

A number of strategies have been adopted to provide teaching staff without the full cost falling on prison service budgets. Those mentioned so far in this report can be summarised as follows:

- cooperating with other state agencies
- cooperating with voluntary agencies
- incorporating individual voluntary teachers into a prison service programme
- enabling prisoners to act as teachers or assistant teachers
- relying on prisoners acting as teachers
- accepting donations of materials and equipment

6.6. The provision of adequate facilities

There are problems associated with the use of donated materials. A report from Hong Kong describes a typical situation:

...teaching materials, textbooks, classrooms, desks, chairs and the other necessities essential to any good programme were in very short supply and usually came second-hand from outside schools as and when they procured new

supplies and furniture....One problem that this brings...is the task of seating adult students at desks built for a more junior age group. (Garner 1989: 8)

It should be added that children's textbooks have contents unsuitable for adults.

At the other extreme are what are frequently seen as showcase centres. Loos prison, France, has a multimedia centre for vocational training consisting of three rooms with eight networked computer work-stations, a documentation centre containing trade journals and vocational guidance material, and a variety of self-learning packages (Queneutte 1990). Specifically for basic education, the communications workshop and resource centre at Wakefield prison, UK, is equipped with an advanced computer suitable for design work, video playback screens with headphones for individual work, computers for word-processing and computer-aided instruction, a library and documentation centre (ALBSU 1990).

In addition to serving the educational needs of their local prison population of inmates and staff, such centres can fulfil the useful functions of demonstrating what is possible, enabling teachers from other institutions to be trained in using elements of the equipment which can be provided elsewhere, and serving as a local or regional resource centre for the production of digests of information on adult teaching materials. In many cases, showcase centres are funded jointly with outside agencies, and it is unreasonable to expect these to provide similar facilities throughout a prison system. To put it another way, the same amount of money spread over twenty or more institutions would produce little impact.

What may realistically be achieved is a universal commitment to provide education as well as training, and an improvement in existing facilities in proportion to the national education budget. To meet the special needs of prisoners with low educational attainment, support from agencies outside the prison service can be actively sought.

An argument frequently advanced is that any person who did not complete basic education at school should have the chance to do so, and indeed needs to do so, in adulthood. The majority of such persons dropped out of school, and so in practice ceased to be a charge on the system. It can be suggested that this requires the commitment of at least the same per capita sum to the education of the illiterate or semi-literate adult in or out of prison as that devoted to a child. The application of a different methodology, and the difference in maturity of the learner, improve the likelihood that the investment will be productive.

7. EVIDENCE OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF BASIC EDUCATION

There are several distinct ways of approaching questions of effectiveness. The classic evaluation is to compare what is achieved with what was intended. Since education in prisons usually sets out to assist the broad aim of resocialisation, effectiveness needs to be judged from several angles in order to make even a tentative assessment of the achievement of this aim. Associated with resocialisation are not only employment and occupational advance, but social relationships and changes in behaviour. Individual courses, including basic education, also have internal objectives, such as progression from one reading level to another, or the passing of a basic level examination. However, with the exception of examination pass rates, and sometimes figures for entry into employment on release, evidence of effectiveness is not usually kept, or indeed sought. To do so consistently would need a huge follow-up programme, which raises questions over the right of ex-offenders to lead their own lives free from further supervision.

7.1. The relationship between recidivism and unemployment

It is nonetheless accepted that governments may not be convinced of the merit of investing in basic or non-vocational education by humanitarian arguments. Evidence of reductions in financial and social cost has also to be sought. From a fiscal point of view, if prison education reduces recidivism and raises gross domestic product by the useful and gainful employment of citizens who might otherwise be dependent on social security/welfare payments or a charge on the state through the penal system, then it is cheap. If all it does is raise the self-confidence and ability of persons who continue to act criminally, it is expensive.

As things are, there are strong indications that education, especially vocational training, does have a positive effect on subsequent recidivism and gainful employment. Even though there are many social factors involved in such an assessment, doubts over the use of a crude recidivism measure as an indicator, and a need for wider confirmation, there is evidence of successful reintegration.

At the Oxford international conference on prison education held in 1989, Jenkins presented a survey of evidence accumulated so far in the USA. The four studies with what he judged to be rigorous methodology gave the following picture:

The New York State Study of 1981: Data were collected on nearly 300 former inmates who had pursued college courses. Three quarters were found to be employed (Jenkins 1989: 7).

The Illinois Study of 1988: A twelve-month follow-up study of randomly selected adult releasees considered the relationship between employment and participation in vocational training or secondary level education during imprisonment. The results showed a positive correlation (Jenkins 1989: 6, 19).

The Maryland State Use Industries Studies of 1988 and 1989: Inmates who had worked for the state industries were followed up over three years. Recidivism rates of 17.9% to 22.4% were found after one year, and 41.9% to 51% over three years (Jenkins 1989: 8, 19).

The Figgie Corporation Study of 1988: Adults imprisoned for crimes against property were interviewed. They rated unemployment central to their criminal activity, and employment training as the most important rehabilitation measure (Jenkins 1989: 7).

In the case of certificated vocational training, short-term evidence of effectiveness is easily advanced. For example, of the ten participants in a computer-aided design course at Fleury-Mérogis prison, France, six gained employment in an engineering office, and in the full mechanical engineering course 60% to 80% regularly pass the examination after seven months' training (Martos 1990).

When these results are compared with the composite profile of prisoners given in the section on Characteristics earlier in this report, they must be construed as positive. Anecdotal evidence of individual cases of subsequent occupational and social stability and success have also been amassed by practitioners. A strong connection with education can usually be inferred, and the relationship with a teacher or support team appears to be significant.

7.2. The internal objectives of basic education

Since basic education alone does not guarantee employment, it is not entirely susceptible to the type of evaluation presented above, which is related to rates of employment and recidivism. It is not known how many of the graduates of vocational training courses who become employed and resocialised first took part in basic education. But it is clear that basic education is an indispensable part of prison education for those with the lowest educational attainment who cannot enter directly into a course which presupposes skills that they do not yet possess. It is therefore more feasible to assess it in terms of teaching those skills. Sachs (1989: 17) suggests the outputs of basic education which can be assessed:

- improved literacy and numeracy
- the development of basic life skills, such as job-finding skills, recreational skills

- the provision of vocational training in conjunction with prison industries, ensuring that the skills taught are related to today's employment opportunities
- the provision of a...certificated course that teaches skills from the primary and lower secondary curriculum
- the provision of higher educational opportunities to those inmates with an identifiable need and the capacity to complete the course

Improved literacy and numeracy are demonstrated in the statistics of examination results and reading tests. The project in Maryland, USA, whereby inmates taught each other literacy, was assessed to estimate the efficiency of that methodology, but the results also argue for the general effectiveness of basic education in terms of its own objectives: "...on the average, literacy laboratory students gain about three months in reading skills for every one month of instruction as measured by the Test of Adult Basic Education" (Steurer 1991: 10).

In Northern Ireland, "The more able students engaged in basic education are encouraged to sit...Communication Skills and Numeracy examinations. The pass rate for the last academic year [1988-89] was high; of 143 entries 120 passes were achieved" (Strain 1989: 14).

These results can only be demonstrated where such examinations exist, and then only for the abler students. In France, more than 60% of the participants in education leave prison without any proper recognition: 42% with no certificate at all, and 20% with a certificate of attendance only (ADEP 1990: 16).

An alternative, informal way of recognising achievement lies in arts programmes, which may be associated with basic education. Reference has been made to the publication of prisoners' writing, and to exhibitions of visual arts: the city of Hamburg, Germany, for example, has set up in the streets sculptures made by its prison inmates. Gatti (1990), reporting on the writing and performance of plays, sees success when the assessors of the competence of the trainee stage technicians sit in the front row as a passive audience, to be addressed with confidence by the prisoners. The fact that such artistic achievements can be made shows that inmates, even illiterates, can express themselves when enabled to do so.

Evaluation of all educational endeavours is widely demanded. The range of possible indicators is being expanded appreciably beyond examination results, while remaining restricted to the visible functioning of provision. In the UK, a document has recently been prepared by the Prison Service for use in the evaluation of all prison education and library programmes (H.M. Prison Service 1990a). It will be seen from the extract in Appendix 3 that this owes much to the evaluation culture of commercial enterprises in that it asks essentially whether a service meets those objectives laid down contractually. It should be explained that the Prison Service does in fact draw up formal service contracts with local public education authorities. There is no mention of the vaguer aims of rehabilitation or resocialisation, because these cannot be assessed by the teacher "on the ground".

7.3. Behaviour indicators

It is possible to see the effect of prison education on behaviour during the sentence. This may not be an exact guide to subsequent actions, but it is also of value within the institution. Statistical evidence can be accumulated through frequency of disciplinary reports or hearings: the anger control training course run in one UK prison (McDougall 1989) gave the following results:

Governor's Reports:	3 months before	3 months after
Participants (N = 18)	21	11

Practitioners know of numerous cases of improved socialisation in prison. This evidence generally remains at the level of subjective impression, but there are other possible methods of recording achievement. These are integrated into the following suggested composite list of indicators relevant to basic education, which incorporates the proposals of Sachs (1989):

- education attendance rates
- test and examination results
- individual records of education and training courses begun and completed
- frequency of individual disciplinary reports
- levels of personal activity:
 - . participation in sports
 - . participation in cultural and religious activities
 - . requests for information on vocational training and job opportunities
 - . frequency of library visits
 - . etc.
- patterns of individual activity during free association between inmates
- preservation of individual contact with family

In other words, social reports can be regarded as a valid measure of some of the effect of education, even though the relationship between a given course and a change in behaviour is not linear.

This uncertainty does not weaken the argument in favour of appropriate educational provision. Although it may be impossible to prove that education causes or reinforces improved social behaviour, there is no cogent argument that any other element of the penal/correctional system is more likely to achieve the same result. Moreover, it must be counter-productive to deny education to a prisoner who, in reassessing his or her situation and needs because of a change brought about by other stimuli, requests it.

Elements of the above list of indicators may be subjective, but no more so than school and college reports or employer's testimonials and references, by which the careers of the general population are to some degree influenced. They may be regarded as qualitative rather than quantitative measures of educational outcomes, but this does not mean that they are any less valid. Indeed, there is an active debate on educational evaluation outside the prison context which favours qualitative or naturalistic measures (see, e.g., Bhola 1991) as a complement to quantitative.

The subjectivity can be reduced by the involvement of the prisoners. There is no reason why at least certain measures of behaviour, such as levels of personal activity, should not be assessed jointly. Hartl (1989: 1) reports that evaluation of the discussion groups in Czechoslovakia, which gave positive results, used:

- the participants' own affirmations
- analysis of all written materials and participants' diaries
- recordings of groups sessions
- sociometric techniques
- attitude scales
- questionnaires addressed to staff
- observations by the group leader, his co-worker and staff

These might be added to the composite list above.

7.4. Distorting factors

There are manifold influences on the effects of education which cannot be controlled by educationists, in prisons any more than anywhere else. The effects of education can be undone by other elements of the penal system, such as security or work productivity, which pursue different aims and deliberately or unintentionally prevent offenders from following a coherent course of study. It is remarkable how often practitioners comment on the influence of individual personalities on the behaviour, motivation and educational progress of inmates. The prison system has therefore to develop an ethos in which education is seen as a common concern and a priority if it is to have the effects which appear possible from intensive projects such as those mentioned in this report.

7.4.1. *Social environment*

When a person is released from custody, he or she enters into or returns to a specific social environment. If that environment is marked by violence, irregularity of employment, unstable personal relations, mistrust of written information and education, and/or cupidity, then the newly educated prisoner must either reject the values of the education received, introduce new values into the environment and thereby change it, or abandon that environment and push into a new one without

family or friends. Both of the latter options require great tenacity and strength of character, and the importance of supportive through-care and outside contacts is seen.

If the environment is less harsh, the broader cultural values associated with the educational materials used in prison may yet be at variance with those outside, leading to unexpected instability in relationships.

Only where family members are supportive, and an adequate income and housing are secured--usually through employment--is there a realistic chance of socialisation. The term "resocialisation" is itself a misleading aim, if it means a return to the situation before imprisonment.

7.4.2. *Unemployment*

There are uncertainties over the reliability of employment as an indicator. The principal difficulty is that it is only a neutral indicator under conditions of full employment, as the likelihood of becoming and remaining employed after release are dependent not only on education and vocational training, but also on the conditions of the labour market. Where unskilled workers are least in demand, the effect of basic or prevocational education will hardly be noticeable in terms of employment. And where prisons only have the facilities or the staff to offer prevocational or full vocational training for jobs in dying industries, the effect on the employment chances of ex-offenders may be negative rather than positive. Finally, whatever the legal position regarding discrimination, employers themselves will frequently place ex-offenders at the bottom of a list of applicants, unless some support scheme offers reassurance and encouragement.

In job creation schemes for those who remain unemployed for a certain length of time, including many ex-offenders, recruitment is not only determined by previous standards of education, but also by the financial security of many of the schemes themselves. Funds are usually granted for a limited period of one or two years, after which there is no guarantee of employment for graduates, even in the skill practised during the job creation experience. It is not surprising that offenders look with disfavour on training for what they know are low-paid or unavailable jobs.

A lack of realism among some offenders and ex-offenders affects their employment behaviour. Armed with the first continuous experience of education and the first certificate which they have ever possessed, they sometimes think that they are qualified for jobs that demand much higher qualifications. They thus fail to respond to the market, and once again the importance of counselling is seen.

7.4.3. *Recidivism*

It has also to be admitted in this context that people cannot be restored or renovated in the same way as objects, and that unemployment is not a direct cause of criminal activity. If it were, there would be far worse crowding in prisons. It is also probable, to judge from the experiences of educators and others involved in criminal justice systems, that there is a proportion of offenders who are not susceptible to rehabilitation, and a larger number among whom any change is fragile and very dependent on circumstances. However, evidence cited above does link employment and behavioural change with greater chances of avoiding recidivism for a number of prisoners which renders a prison education service worthwhile.

But there are other factors which reduce the quality of recidivism as an indicator of the effectiveness of education. In the first place, it is widely observed that prisons not only teach what the system intends, they also teach criminality and alienation from the social system. Internal arrangements can palliate this to a degree, by separating remand from convicted prisoners and first offenders from recidivists, and by limiting the number of inmates in a cell to that for which it was designed, but if any resocialisation is to be achieved, some free association must be allowed.

Secondly, life chances can on balance be reduced by the total effect of imprisonment, rather than increased by the educational element of that experience. One can argue that this is part of the punishment and the fault of the offender, not that of the system, but this is not at issue. In practice, the chances of employment, an uninterrupted relationship with a partner, security of housing, and emotional equanimity, are impoverished by imprisonment. The best that education can do is counteract some of these effects, but it would be unreasonable to blame prison education for failing to overcome the consequences of deprivation of liberty which society has imposed. If society really intends imprisonment to be more punitive than educative, then the rhetoric of most systems about rehabilitation is hypocrisy.

Thirdly, there is the increased likelihood of being arrested again after one or more previous convictions. In theory this need not affect the chances of conviction, but it is reasonable to deduce from anecdotal evidence that it is easier to solve a case when a crime has been committed by someone known to the police than when the perpetrator is unknown. Beyond this point, one enters into speculation over guilt and innocence, which does not lie within the purview of this report.

Very large social and moral questions are raised by these concerns, and attempts to answer them fall outside the immediate question of the provision for basic education. They have nonetheless to be borne in mind when looking for the effects of that education.

NOTES

1. Information supplied by the Nigerian Prisons Service, 1991.
2. Coulibaly, N'G. 1990. Information supplied to conference on Evaluation in Literacy, Post-literacy and Non-formal Education, Unesco Institute for Education, Hamburg, June.
3. Jorgensen, H. 1991. Information supplied to the Euroalpha Conference on Basic Education in Prisons, Dublin, May.

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Appendix 1. Resolution of the Economic and Social Council
of the United Nations, 24 May 1990.

1990/20. Prison education

The Economic and Social Council,

Affirming the right of everyone to education, as enshrined in article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in articles 13 to 15 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights,

Recalling rule 77 of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, which states, *inter alia*, that provision shall be made for the further education of all prisoners capable of profiting thereby, that the education of illiterates and young prisoners shall be compulsory and that the education of prisoners shall be integrated with the educational system of the country so far as practicable,

Recalling also rule 22.1 of the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (The Beijing Rules), which states that professional education, in-service training, refresher courses and other appropriate modes of instruction shall be utilized to establish and maintain the necessary professional competence of all personnel dealing with juvenile cases, and rule 26, which stresses the role of education and vocational training for all juveniles in custody,

Bearing in mind the long-standing concern of the United Nations about the humanization of criminal justice and the protection of human rights and about the importance of education in the development of the individual and the community,

Bearing in mind also that human dignity is an inherent, inviolable quality of every human being and a precondition for education aiming at the development of the whole person,

Bearing in mind further that 1990, the year in which the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders is to be held, is also International Literacy Year, the objectives of which are directly relevant to the individual needs of prisoners,

Noting with appreciation the significant efforts made by the United Nations, in preparing for the Eighth Congress, to give more recognition to prison education,

1. *Recommends* that Member States, appropriate institutions, educational counselling services and other organizations should promote prison education, *inter alia*, by:

(a) Providing penal institutions with educators and accompanying services and raising the educational level of prison personnel;

(b) Developing professional selection procedures and staff training and supplying the necessary resources and equipment;

(c) Encouraging the provision and expansion of educational programmes for offenders in and outside prisons;

(d) Developing education suitable to the needs and abilities of prisoners and in conformity with the demands of society;

2. *Also recommends* that Member States should:

(a) Provide various types of education that would contribute significantly to crime prevention, resocialization of prisoners and reduction of recidivism, such as literacy education, vocational training, continuing education for updating knowledge, higher education and other programmes that promote the human development of prisoners;

(b) Consider the increased use of alternatives to imprisonment and measures for the social resettlement of prisoners with a view to facilitating their education and reintegration into society;

3. *Further recommends* that Member States, in developing educational policies, should take into account the following principles:

(a) Education in prison should aim at developing the whole person, bearing in mind the prisoner's social, economic and cultural background;

(b) All prisoners should have access to education including literacy programmes, basic education, vocational training, creative, religious and cultural activities, physical education and sports, social education, higher education and library facilities;

(c) Every effort should be made to encourage prisoners to participate actively in all aspects of education;

(d) All those involved in prison administration and management should facilitate and support education as much as possible;

(e) Education should be an essential element in the prison régime; disincentives to prisoners who participate in approved formal educational programmes should be avoided;

(f) Vocational education should aim at the greater development of the individual and be sensitive to trends in the labour market;

(g) Creative and cultural activities should be given a significant role since they have a special potential for enabling prisoners to develop and express themselves;

(h) Wherever possible, prisoners should be allowed to participate in education outside the prison;

(i) Where education has to take place within the prison, the outside community should be involved as fully as possible;

(j) The necessary funds, equipment and teaching staff should be made available to enable prisoners to receive appropriate education;

4. *Urges* the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and its International Bureau of Education, in co-operation with the regional commissions, the regional and interregional institutes for crime prevention and criminal justice, other specialized agencies and other entities within the United Nations system, other intergovernmental organizations concerned and non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council, to become actively involved in this process;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General, subject to the availability of extrabudgetary funds:

(a) To develop a set of guidelines and a manual on prison education that would provide the basis necessary for the further development of prison education and would facilitate the exchange of expertise and experience on this aspect of penitentiary practice among Member States;

(b) To convene an international expert meeting on prison education, with a view to formulating action-oriented strategies in this area, with the co-operation of the regional and interregional institutes for crime prevention and criminal justice, the specialized agencies, other intergovernmental organizations concerned and non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council;

6. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to inform the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control, at its twelfth session, of the results of his endeavours in this area;

7. *Invites* the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders and the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control, at its twelfth session, to consider the question of prison education.

13th plenary meeting
24 May 1990

COUNCIL OF EUROPE COMMITTEE OF MINISTERS

RECOMMENDATION No. R (89) 12

OF THE COMMITTEE OF MINISTERS TO MEMBER STATES ON EDUCATION IN PRISON

*(Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 13 October 1989
at the 429th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies)*

The Committee of Ministers, under the terms of Article 15.b of the Statute of the Council of Europe,

Considering that the right to education is fundamental;

Considering the importance of education in the development of the individual and the community;

Realising in particular that a high proportion of prisoners have had very little successful educational experience, and therefore now have many educational needs;

Considering that education in prison helps to humanise prisons and to improve the conditions of detention;

Considering that education in prison is an important way of facilitating the return of the prisoner to the community;

Recognising that in the practical application of certain rights or measures, in accordance with the following recommendations, distinctions may be justified between convicted prisoners and prisoners remanded in custody;

Having regard to Recommendation No. R (87) 3 on the European Prison Rules and Recommendation No. R (81) 17 on adult education policy,

Recommends the governments of member states to implement policies which recognise the following:

1. All prisoners shall have access to education, which is envisaged as consisting of classroom subjects, vocational education, creative and cultural activities, physical education and sports, social education and library facilities;
2. Education for prisoners should be like the education provided for similar age-groups in the outside world, and the range of learning opportunities for prisoners should be as wide as possible;



Forty years
Council of Europe

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3. Education in prison shall aim to develop the whole person bearing in mind his or her social, economic and cultural context;
4. All those involved in the administration of the prison system and the management of prisons should facilitate and support education as much as possible;
5. Education should have no less a status than work within the prison regime and prisoners should not lose out financially or otherwise by taking part in education;
6. Every effort should be made to encourage the prisoner to participate actively in all aspects of education;
7. Development programmes should be provided to ensure that prison educators adopt appropriate adult education methods;
8. Special attention should be given to those prisoners with particular difficulties and especially those with reading or writing problems;
9. Vocational education should aim at the wider development of the individual, as well as being sensitive to trends in the labour-market;
10. Prisoners should have direct access to a well-stocked library at least once a week;
11. Physical education and sports for prisoners should be emphasised and encouraged;
12. Creative and cultural activities should be given a significant role because these activities have particular potential to enable prisoners to develop and express themselves;
13. Social education should include practical elements that enable the prisoner to manage daily life within the prison, with a view to facilitating his return to society;
14. Wherever possible, prisoners should be allowed to participate in education outside prison;
15. Where education has to take place within the prison, the outside community should be involved as fully as possible;
16. Measures should be taken to enable prisoners to continue their education after release;
17. The funds, equipment and teaching staff needed to enable prisoners to receive appropriate education should be made available.

THE CURRICULUM



The Student

- 1.1 What methods do staff use to ascertain student needs?
- 1.2 What part do the students play in determining the curriculum?
- 1.3 Which activities could be student led?
- 1.4 What processes do you use to ensure that student learning is being facilitated?
(See Appendix 3.)
- 1.5 How do you and your staff monitor student progress?

The Formal Curriculum

- 2.1 How is your curriculum determined?
- 2.2 What use is made of curriculum development teams?
- 2.3 How do staff ensure that each part of the curriculum contributes to satisfying the students' cognitive and/or effective needs?
- 2.4 How often do you hold curriculum reviews?
- 2.5 What will be the impact of NVQ and other national initiatives on your curriculum and on the work of other departments?
- 2.6 In what ways does the curriculum assist students to lead a more productive life after release?
- 2.7 How does the department assist in the training of discipline staff?

The Hidden Curriculum



- 3.1 In what ways can you and your staff promote the personal independence and growth in self-assurance of inmates?
- 3.2 In what ways can you and your staff help bridge the gap between uniformed staff and inmates?
- 3.3 In what ways are uniformed staff encouraged to take part in Departmental activities?
- 3.4 In what ways are you able to involve other specialists, such as probation/psychology in Departmental activities?
- 3.5 In what ways can informal/formal learning be improved in order to facilitate different types of learning (for example, by arrangement of seats/tables/position of the teacher in relation to students)?

The Extended Curriculum



- 4.1 In what ways is the Department able to enrich the curriculum by bringing in outside agencies such as drama groups, artists, writers, and representatives from Science, Business, Industry and Commerce?
- 4.2 What provisions are made for the extended year?
- 4.3 To what extent is the Department able to cater for those inmates who are not receiving educational opportunities?

The Validity of the Curriculum



- 5.1 What processes are used to examine the validity of the curriculum?
- 5.2 How does the curriculum promote inmate confidence and self-esteem?
- 5.3 How does it enhance marketability?
- 5.4 How do staff evaluate the worth of such courses as Life Skills or Sex Education?
- 5.5 What steps do you and your staff take to ensure that your courses/learning situations do not merely reinforce the dependency of the inmate?
- 5.6 What are the constraints upon the curriculum and how can you overcome these?